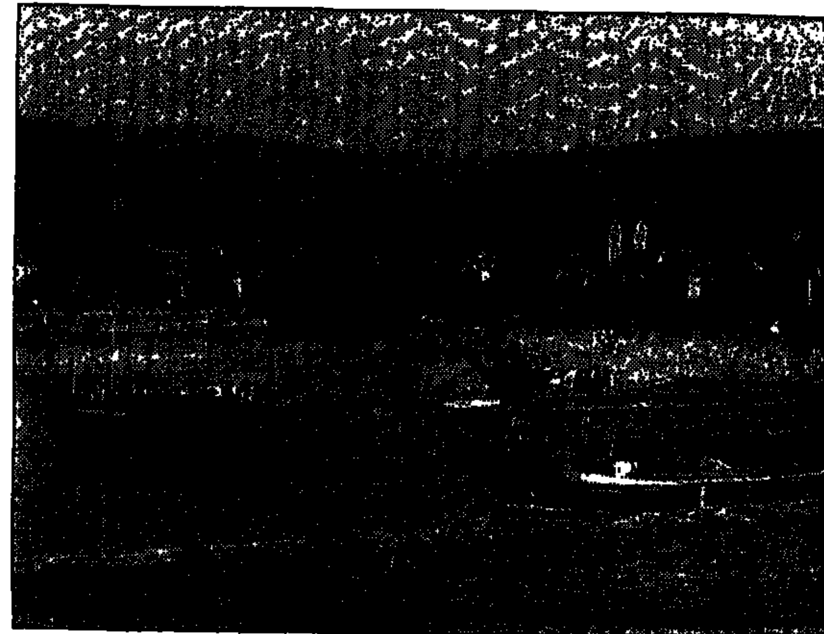
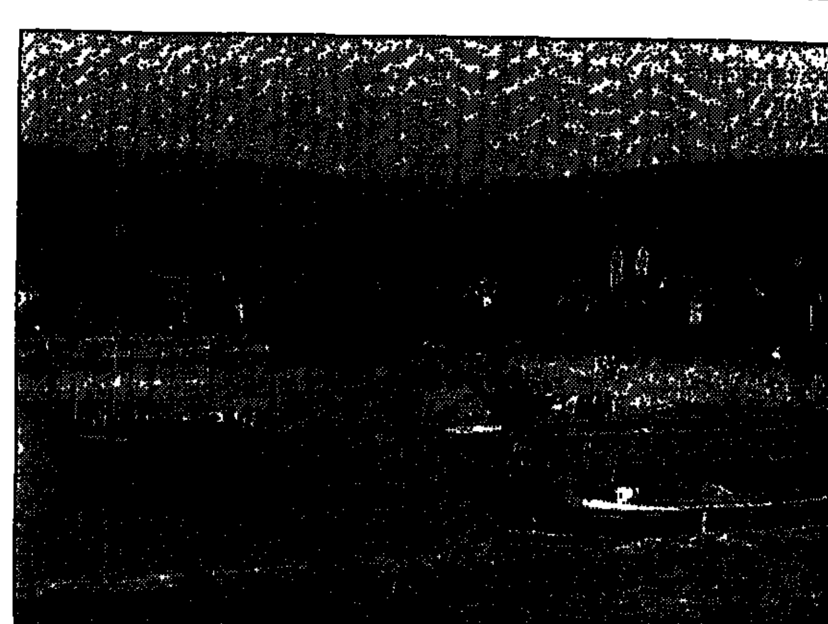
Routes to tour in Germany

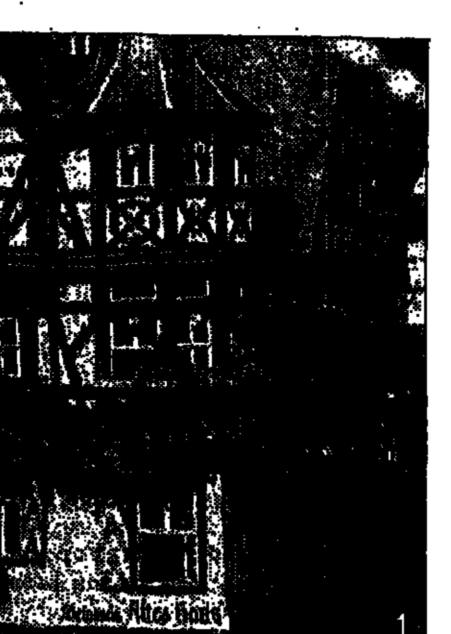
The Rheingold Route

Rhens
Spay
Boppard
Bad Salzig
St. Goar
Oberwesel
Bacharach
Rheindiebach

German roads will get you there – to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of what, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes.
For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide.

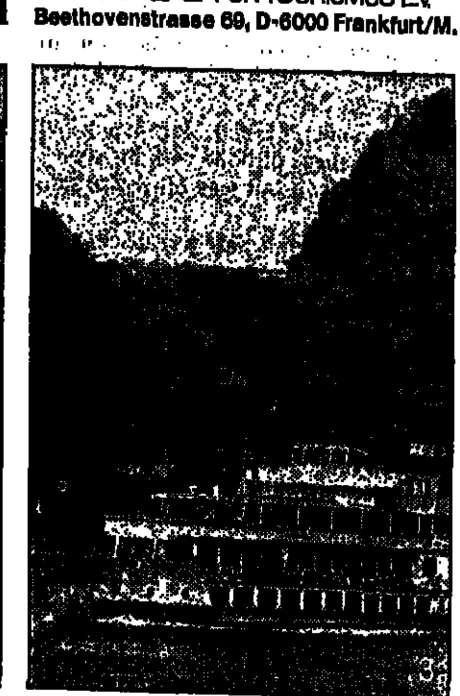
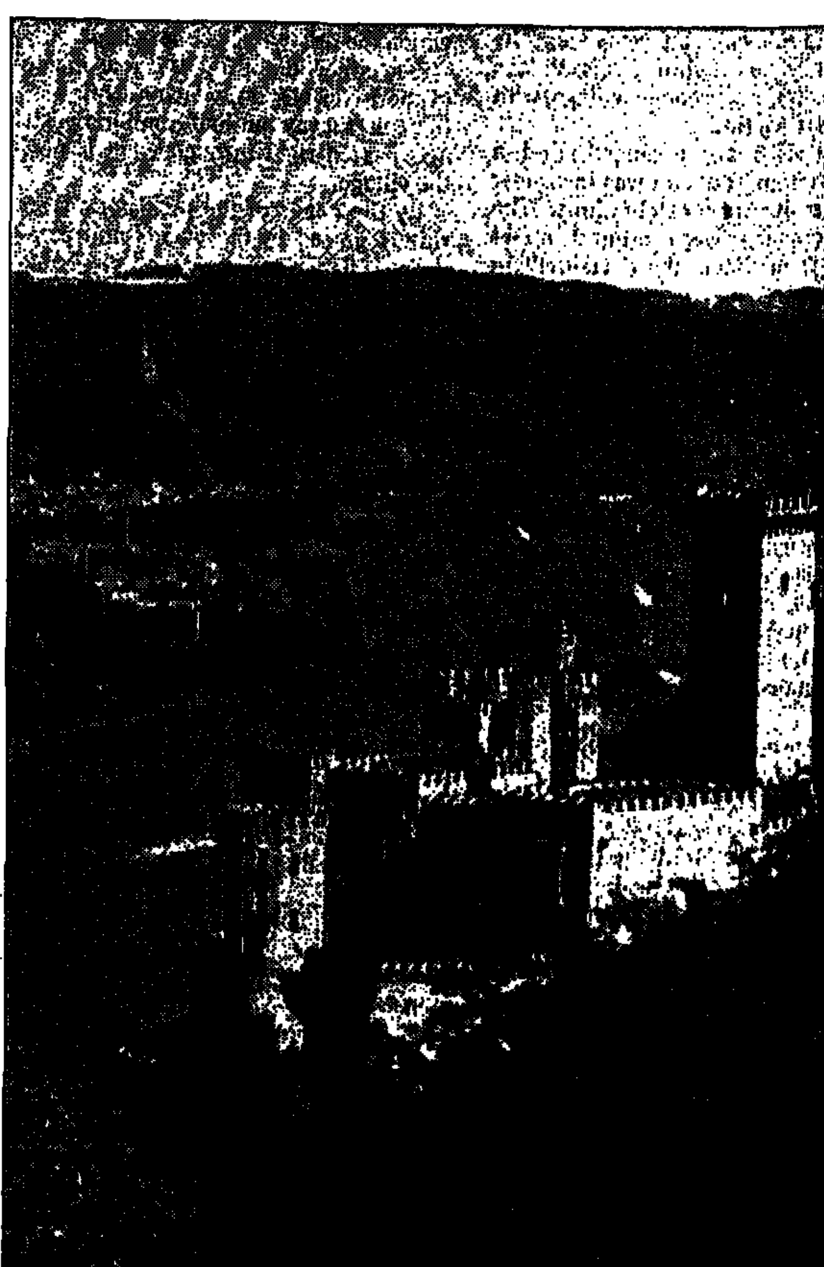
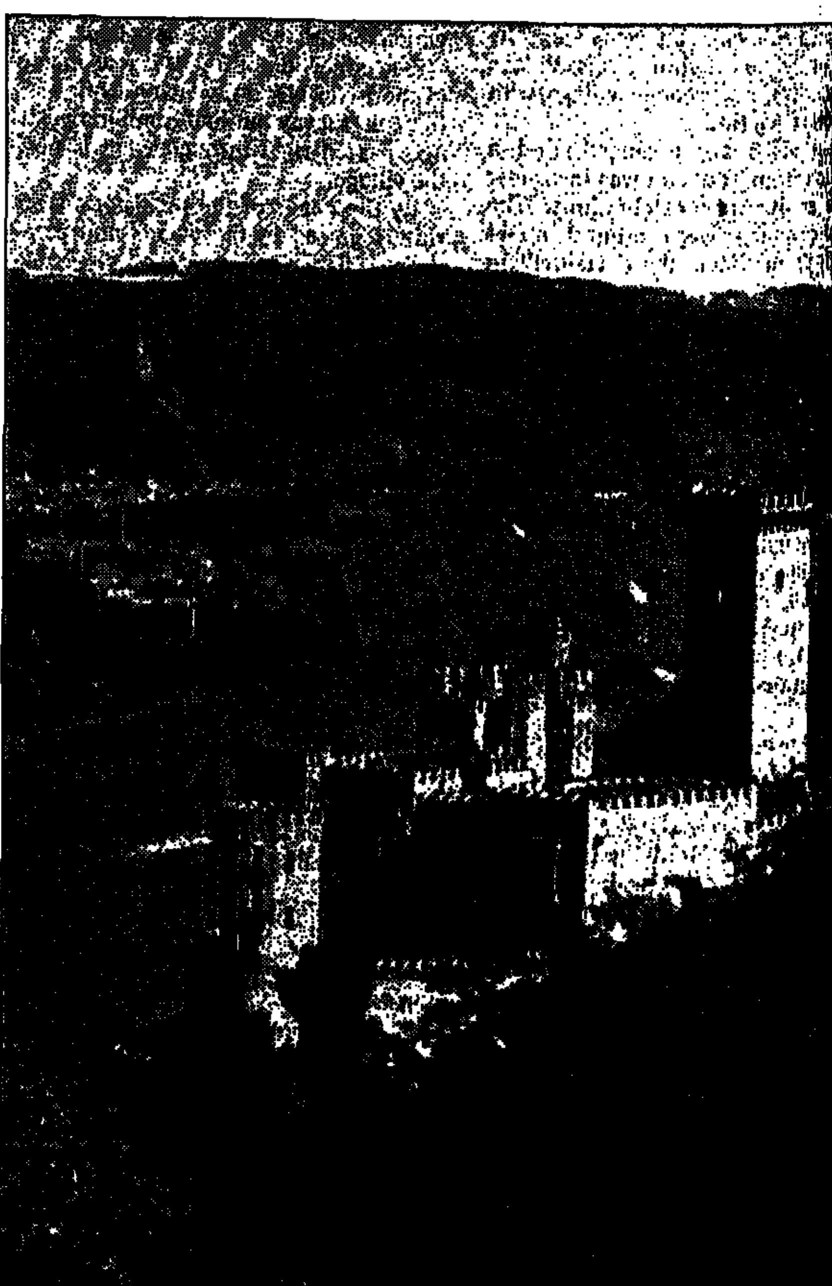





1 Bacharach
2 Oberwesel
3 The Loreley Rock
4 Boppard
5 Stolzenfels Castle



Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.

The German Tribune

…, 14 November 1982
…-first Year - No. 1060 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Resumed Madrid talks promise tough going

…'s delegation flew to Madrid for the Helsinki review conference …t illusions but willing to keep on …ting.

…second Helsinki review conferen… convened in the Spanish capital af… long adjournment, one of several …

…gates of 35 countries, America, … and all European states except …, met against a background of more serious deterioration in East… relations.

…ign Minister Genscher warned …t calling off the talks. That, he would mark the end for some time …es of extra East-West ties and … development of the Helsinki Fi… …

… Madrid conference began about two years ago, the first Helsinki review gathering having been held in Belgrade. It was last adjourned in March because a break was felt to be needed after the imposition of martial law in Poland.

The West wanted to give Moscow an opportunity of "liberalising" conditions in its sphere of influence, especially in Poland.

But the new Polish trade union legislation and the ban on Solidarity has worsened the situation as the West sees it. It can no longer be made out by the East to be merely temporary.

So the United States plans to criticise Moscow harshly in Madrid but no longer to pursue its original aim of negotiating a balanced final document of any substance.

This contradicted European aims but Bonn diplomats were expecting a compromise to be reached on the eve of resumption.

At all events the West, it is learnt in Bonn, will be insisting on extra tough demands in connection with important parts of the final document already negotiated.

Easement of restrictions on family reunification will, for instance, be joined by demands for trade union freedoms and human and civil rights.

It seems uncertain whether the go-ahead will be given for a European disarmament conference on the basis of the compromise formula put forward by the neutral and non-aligned countries.

Bonn sets great store by the disarma-

Continued on page 3

IN THIS ISSUE

…xt edition of THE GERMAN …UNE will appear on 28 November



The General comes to town. Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Nato supreme commander in Europe, General Bernard W. Rogers, in Bonn. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Defence doctrine to stay, confirms Nato commander

There is no intention that Nato might depart from its doctrine of flexible response to attack. This was made clear during talks in Bonn between Nato's supreme commander in Europe, General Bernard W. Rogers, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Defence Minister Manfred Wörner.

It was General Rogers' first call on the new government in Bonn, the government that makes the largest contribution by far to Nato's defences in Europe.

The general has caused confusion and upset a number of his European allies by publishing details of a new strategic concept.

He was so emphatic on strengthening conventional defence capacity and on stepping up national defence spending that some felt Washington was ready to backtrack on existing Nato doctrine.

This doctrine is based, in the final analysis, on the belief that the United States would, in the event of an emergency, stand by its commitments as Europe's protecting power.

Despite the risk America itself would thereby run, the United States would deploy its nuclear potential to ward off an attack on its European allies.

The talks confirmed that there is to be no change in the doctrine.

Nato continues to envisage using nuclear weapons to ward off a conventional attack should it seem necessary.

Renunciation of the first use in the Western defence concept would be a virtual invitation to attack given the Soviet Union's conventional superiority.

In view of the growing rejection of nuclear armaments not only by the peace movement in Europe but also in the loud calls for a nuclear stockpiles freeze during the US mid-term election campaign, Nato will nonetheless need to ponder over other models for the future.

They will doubtless include General Rogers' proposals, but his ideas would be extremely expensive and presuppose the United States maintaining its strong troop presence in Europe.

Western Europe is indefensible without US support. General Rogers' visit to Bonn was a confirmation of the US government's intention of standing by its commitments.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 5 November 1982)

A stalling game: Moscow tries to claw profit

…e Russians are stalling everywhere …y can on disarmament issues, ac… …to American observers.

… the Geneva talks on …ediate-range nuclear forces in …(INF);

… the US-Soviet talks on strategic …duction (Start);

…at the Vienna MBFR troop cut …where Nato and the Warsaw Pact …r nearly 10 years tried to nego…ts in conventional forces in Cen…rope.

…uropean delegate at the MBFR …balanced force reduction talks …more trenchantly: "We feel like …s in a treadmill; we run and …erything moves but there is no …s."

…ienna the chief Soviet MBFR de…is not even a top-rank diplomat. …military men seldom appear, …for conference buffs is a clear …at the Russians are expecting … to happen for the time being.

… Geneva Start talks are at least … time. Meeting twice a week for … five hours, the delegations must …med to be getting down to busi…

… the INF negotiators are meeting less frequently than they were in the first stages of talks.

Well-informed Nato opinion sees a reason for the Soviet tactics. Russia does not want to make concessions of any kind at the three rounds of specific disarmament talks as long as it hopes the West might be prepared voluntarily to disarm.

Moscow sets great store by the peace movement. If it succeeds in persuading Nato to disarm without insisting on the Warsaw Pact following suit, Moscow will be able to maintain for good the lead it holds in Europe and elsewhere.

In this the Russians feel their tactics have been borne out by the results of the US mid-term elections.

The new majority in the House of Representatives will no longer follow Mr Reagan in his plan to force the Soviet Union to disarm by means of a continuous, consistent US arms build-up.

The President previous commanded the support of an alliance of Democrats and Republicans in the House. He no longer does. That jeopardises Nato cohesion.

At the Start talks it has looked as though the superpowers were coming closer together in recent weeks. The United States suggested both sides reduce by 2,500 the 7,500 warheads they have mounted on long-range missiles.

The Russians have more land-based missiles, the Americans more sea-based ones. America would scrap more sea-based missiles, Russia more land-based ones.

This would reduce the Soviet lead and make progress toward a balance. Moscow's land-based systems are faster and more accurately targetable than US submarine systems; they also pack more firepower.

According to US intelligence reports the Soviet Union today could knock out much of America's land-based missile armour by launching a first attack using a mere third or a fifth of its ICBM capacity.

That would leave the Kremlin with

Continued on page 3

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Temperature drops before the chill East-West wind

The wind is blowing cold between Moscow and Washington. Verbal rearmament, attacks on the political opponent and intellectual militarisation call to mind the heyday of the Cold War, which lasted from 1947 to 1962.

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the December 1979 Nato missile modernisation resolution, which marked the end of detente, relations between the superpowers were described as speechless.

They now no longer have nothing to say to each other. It looks as though each is determined to knock the other out, at least in propaganda terms. Are we on the brink of a new Cold War?

Speaking to 500 Soviet generals in Moscow, Mr Brezhnev has referred to two trends in world affairs. The one, which governed Kremlin policy, was aimed at preventing war and promoting detente.

The other was the warmongering, brutality and blatant egoism of US policy, he said.

It is hardly surprising that US Defence Secretary Weinberger is reluctant to come down a peg or two. He views the challenge set by the ageing Soviet leader as proof that the US arms build-up policy is absolutely right.

These polemics may in both cases form part of a bid to influence domestic opinion and canvass support for major and expensive armament decisions, but questions remain to be answered.

Have politicians learnt nothing since the first phase of East-West confrontation, which culminated exactly 20 years ago in the Cuban crisis?

Do they not sense the danger of their rhetorical excesses gaining a momentum of their own?

There have surely been enough examples of this kind of escalation lately, ranging from the *Gulf* war between Iran and Iraq to the war in the South Atlantic between Britain and Argentina over the Falklands.

What we mainly associate with the October 1962 Cuban crisis is, first, that the world was on the brink of a nuclear war and, second, that crisis management successfully averted it.

In the end President Kennedy settled the crisis peacefully with Mr Khrushchev, and despite the Vietnam war and Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia a wide range of political agreements ensued.

They ranged from the 1963 test ban treaty to the Salt agreements and detente policy.

At no time since those 13 days in October, 20 years ago, have the superpowers been engaged in direct military confrontation again.

In an analysis of the Cuban crisis a number of politicians who belonged to Mr Kennedy's inner circle and included former Defence Secretary McNamara and Presidential advisers George Ball and McGeorge Bundy recently reached the following conclusion.

The Cuban missile crisis was successfully defused because the other side was always left an opportunity to pull back without losing face. Never must it be made to choose between war and humiliation.

The same group of Democratic politicians made a headline-hitting public appeal a few months ago for America to officially renounce the first use of nuclear weapons.

The appeal they made to their own President was intended in equal measure to apply to the Soviet leaders.

Yet President Reagan shows no sign of understanding Soviet motives ("the USSR," he says, "is the greatest enemy of mankind").

The exaggerated need for security felt by the Kremlin and its exggerated medium-range missile build-up are hardly designed to make constant Soviet assurances of being peaceloving any the more credible.

The choice may not yet be between war and humiliation, but Mr Reagan and Mr Brezhnev allow no leeway for face-saving negotiations in their policies of strength, which at times assume crusade proportions.

How else is one to account for the fact that success has eluded negotiators at all five levels at which the two sides are still talking.

They are:

1. Strategic arms reduction, or the Start talks;
2. Medium-range missile talks, or INF, short for intermediate-range nuclear forces;
3. The Vienna troop cut talks on mutual balanced force reduction (MBFR) in Central Europe;
4. The CSCE talks, or Helsinki review conference, resumed in Madrid on 9 November;
5. The UN International Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

The argument that Americans and Russians are still negotiating is scant consolation, especially for Europeans in whose countries new medium-range missiles are to be based from next year without in any way reducing the SS-20 threat.

What, then, is to be done to ensure that relations between Moscow and Washington do not deteriorate further? How is the well-nigh morbid delight of the superpowers in transforming past readiness to talk into undisguised hostility to be brought to a halt?

- There must be an end to talk of military superiority. Anyone who aims nowadays at nuclear superiority must lay himself wide open to accusations of wanting to use his superiority to blackmail the inferior.
- Both superpowers must realise that they can no longer stand model either for their respective allies or for other countries, who thus gain greater leeway.

This applies to Poland just as it does to states in Central America. Continued oppression in these countries would lead to increasing international tension that might one day, by coincidence or misinterpretation, trigger worldwide catastrophe.

- It follows from this logic that the superpowers must exercise restraint in their opponent's sphere of influence. Intervention has a damaging effect on the international climate, as US sanctions policy toward Poland and the Soviet Union has lately reaffirmed.

The point was made in two ways. Mr Reagan's policy on trade with the East has so lacked orientation that doubts on the soundness of his foreign policy concept have gained in intensity.

His "no" to grain shipments, followed by a "yes," has been understood neither in Moscow nor in Western capitals.

Cancellation of the most-favoured nation status for the hard-hit Poles will also tend to promote further tension; it will certainly not ease the burden of martial law.

- Both sides must disarm their propaganda machines.
- Understanding the other side is easier when individual, personal encounters are encouraged. There don't al[ways] have to be summit conferences [with] great expectations and all the gr[eat] disappointments.

A continual exchange of though[ts at] all political levels would be the b[est] possible confidence-building meas[ure].

As the superpowers are obviously [not] currently in a position to put such re[ali]sations into effect, their European al[lies] must reinforce their influence.

The Siberian gas pipeline contr[oversy] has been a classic instance of how W[es]tern Europe has demonstrated to its [al]ly, America, that interests differ.

The strategy discussion and policy [to]ward the Third World will be the p[re]vailing points at issue next year.

Total agreement is not always ess[en]tial. There are occasions when it is [sa]ner and more honourable to argue o[ne's] case in public than to accuse some[one] who holds different views of disloy[alty] toward the alliance.

Bonn, for instance, has not yet fo[llo]wed in President Reagan's root-a[nd-]branch anti-Communist footsteps. T[his] has nothing to do with unreliability.

It is because the world no longer c[on]sists of two camps as it did in the d[ays] of the Cuban crisis: one that was go[od] because it was democratic and anot[her] that was bad because it was commun[ist].

The first Cold War took 15 years [to] bring the world to the brink of catast[ro]phe. The evident inability of the su[per]powers to learn their lessons from his[to]ry now endangers peace again.

So the keenness on confrontati[on] shown by the Soviet Union and t[he] United States is no longer strictly th[eir] own affair.

The small fry must intervene to e[nsu]re that there is not a further succes[sion] of crises, two, three, *four*, many C[uban] crises, that plunge the entire world [into] chaos.

Holger Dohm[ann]

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntag[sblatt,] 7 November 1[982])

The division of Poland by the abomination of a barbaric government, a former US President wrote, inflicted a wound on the century at the end of which the moral world was thrown back to the age of the Borgias.

Madrid: will it be last fling of detente?

These were the words, not of Ronald Reagan but of John Adams, George Washington's successor as President, in a correspondence with his successor, Thomas Jefferson.

The century referred to was the 18th, their own, a century they felt deserved a place of honour in history as an age of Enlightenment and of the sciences.

Where Poland is concerned little has changed over the past two centuries. Due to the abomination of a barbaric government Poland is still, and yet again, a bone of contention for the world of morality.

The sky seems to be overcast, clouding over expectations that arose in the 70s during a longer period of fine weather in world affairs, and political storms in Poland are partly to blame.

They have already wrought havoc on the institution that was supposed to make Europe less susceptible to change in the political climate: the CSCE, or Helsinki process.

The US chief delegate at the Helsinki review conference in Madrid, Max Kampelmann, left no doubt in an interview with *Süddeutsche Zeitung* that both he and the Soviet Union expected a clash between the superpowers when the conference reconvened.

The Madrid conference is unlikely to amount to more than the last fling of the detente era. All that is at issue is to minute allocations of blame for its demise, and both superpowers are at the ready to do so.

Unlike the Europeans, Washington and Moscow regard detente as having been mainly a failure.

Washington views the invasion of Afghanistan, the supression of Solidarity, the Polish free trade union, and the unbridled Soviet arms build-up as proof that there has been no change in the aggressive nature of the Soviet system.

Moscow too feels disappointed. It has been unable to drive a wedge between Europe and America and even less capable of shielding its Eastern European empire from domestic upsets by setting the seal on post-war borders.

The price the Kremlin had to pay was too high. The demands for human easements and freedoms made by the West and the neutral countries in return for recognition of frontiers in the Helsinki accords proved explosive.

The Soviet leaders were able to contain the danger by means of demarcation, of suppressing dissidents in Moscow and of oppressing the Polish workers, but in doing so they destroyed the confidence that is a prerequisite of [de]tente and arms control policies.

So detente has been shelved. Ame[rica] has reverted to a policy of containme[nt] while the Soviet gerontocracy, led b[y the] gravely ill and stubbornly old Leo[nid] Brezhnev, has come up with noth[ing] better than classic means of pow[er:] even more armament and fresh po[wer] patterns.

Mr Brezhnev's speech to Soviet o[fficers] showed that the Kremlin [no] longer hopes anything much may co[me] of arms control talks with the Am[eri]cans. Russia is clearly preparing f[or a] fresh arms race.

To last the distance, especially [in] view of the limited Soviet econ[omy]

Continued on page 7

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Bonn manpower reshuffle causes a few headaches

[Th]e Kohl government has been accu[s]ed of brutally chasing highly quali[fied] civil servants out of their jobs.

[Th]e chairman of the work group on [pub]lic sector finances, Rudi Walther, [said] the only reason many civil servants [had go]t their jobs was that they had the [right] party card. He meant that they [were m]embers of the SPD.

[Wal]ther spoke of "a decimated" staff [in the] higher echelons of the ministries. [Even] typists whose only fault was to [have] done typing for the former govern[ment] had been sent home.

[But] the new Development Aid Minis[ter, Jü]rgen Warnke (CSU) denies these [accus]ations. He says that it is the right of [a m]inister to have the people of his [choice] around him.

[This] is the reason that state secreta[ries an]d *ministerialdirektoren* (usually [depart]ment heads) were political ap[pointe]es.

[The] fact that they might lose their [jobs] after a change of government does [not de]tract from their merits and quali[ficatio]ns, he says.

[Gov]ernment ministers are still la[bourin]g under the problems that come [with] the manpower reshuffle. Weeks af[ter th]e change of government, the chan[ge i]s still far from complete.

[Cha]ncellor Kohl's ministers and state [secret]aries were not even able to begin [work w]ith the secretaries they wanted.

[Eve]n now, several department heads [and] personal assistants are not paid [from] ministry budgets but from the funds available from the CDU/CSU parliamentary group.

This is because there are no vacant scheduled positions for the top echelon in the individual ministries.

New posts had to be made available for the closest co-workers of the former ministers before their successors could surround themselves with people they wanted.

This personnel reshuffle took some tough bargaining with the personal council in some ministries before it could be completed.

Another source of difficulties lay in the fact that some ministry people for instance, secretaries, had to be downgraded in seniority and pay on being transferred to another department.

The obstacles are greatest in those ministries that had for many years been dominated by the SPD, mainly the Ministries of Labour, Health, Development Aid, Research and Education.

Though a civil servant with an SPD membership card in his pocket is unlikely to be obstructionist, the strong SPD groupings that pin their hopes on the March elections are sticking together.

The SPD parliamentary group is firing broadsides at the personnel reshuffle.

Herr Warnke says the SPD detractors must be reminded of the fact that even without such a far-reaching event as a change of government, state secretaries and *ministerialdirektoren* can be temporarily retired at the state's expense.

This happened to more than 160 political civil servants during the 13 years of the SPD/FDP coalition. But only 35 of them were originally exchanged after the Kohl government came to power.

In fact, it was Kohl himself who instructed his ministers to proceed cautiously in matters of personnel. But party pressure from the CDU/CSU along with pressure from the conservatives' parliamentary group has led to the reshuffle of a few more.

Whenever the post of a *ministerialdirektor* heading a department had to be newly filled, pro CDU/CSU civil servants got their chance to rise in the hierarchy. Even so, there has been little change in the organisational personnel blueprints of the Ministries.

As a result, there will be little scope for promotions because no new posts are to be created.

Due to former budgetary decisions, the number of posts has been pared down for the past two years.

Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber has now applied for additional posts in his Ministry on the grounds that he wants to reorganise his research policy. But it is unlikely that his application will be approved since the budgetary committee, regardless of party affiliation opposes such a move.

The number of scheduled posts was greatly enlarged in 1969 when the SPD/FDP government took over. This was done in a bid to satisfy the followers of the two parties within the ministerial hierarchy.

Only a very short while before the 1 October no confidence vote, vacant positions were quickly given to SPD members.

It is only natural for civil servants to be worried that a new minister would want to surround himself with his own top people.

It is equally natural for personnel councils to oppose this on the grounds that there are enough capable people in the ministries.

The personnel council of the Labour Ministry has more co-determination rights than those of other Ministries. In fact, the labour minister is a "prisoner" of the Codetermination Act he himself so avidly promoted, says the information sheet *Arbeits- und Sozialpolitik aktuell.*

There is a mood of gloom and despondency among CDU/CSU civil servants due to the virtual non-existence of promotion opportunities despite the successful defence against "outsiders".

To add insult to injury, the thus disappointed civil servants have become the butt of their SPD colleagues' mockery.

Says one of them: "First we were at a disadvantage under the SPD government and now we're again left out in the cold."

Some civil servants were offered promotion after the change of government but turned it down. The reasons they gave were mostly plausible though some of them — the excessively cautious ones — wanted to straddle a fence until the March election when they would know more about the future government.

But those who now fail to take a risk will stand no chance of being offered a promotion again if Helmut Kohl is confirmed as Chancellor.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 October 1982)

Stalling game

Continued from page 1

[more] than enough warheads for a se[cond s]trike, which might deter the Uni[ted St]ates from retaliating after a first [strike.]

[The] United States infers from state[ments] by the Soviet Defence Minister, [Marsh]al Ustinov, that the Russians [would] be prepared to accept this special [cate]gory as an item for the Geneva [talk]s.

[Th]e same would apply to the West's [call fo]r thorough checks that all disar[mame]nt treaties are carried out. But [this n]ow impedes any specific progress [on thi]s point.

[Th]e reason may well be that the [Kreml]in plans a propaganda offensive [based] in part on the US mid-term elec[tion r]esults.

[Th]e economic crisis, Moscow argues, [will m]ake it hard for Mr Reagan to re[tain m]ajorities in the House of Repre[sentati]ves in favour of restoring the ba[lance] of power by arms modernisation.

[The] Soviet leaders plan to encourage [this tr]end by lending the peace move[ment] propaganda support. That would [put] US negotiators in Geneva out on [a lim]b.

Hermann Bohle

(Der Tagesspiegel, 7 November 1982)

Tough going

Continued from page 1

[...] conference, which is intended to [...] confidence-building and [...] promoting measures from the [Atlant]ic to the Urals.

[The]se measures are envisaged in mili[tarily] significant contexts, such as ma[noeuv]re notification and supervision [and re]ports of troop movements.

[But] the Bonn government wonders [whet]her given the icy chill that has des[cende]d on East-West ties and the situa[tion t]o which Moscow has given rise, [the So]viet Union is currently interested [to a] great extent in persevering with [the H]elsinki process.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 November 1982)

Hamburg SPD asks voters to try again

Christmas time in Hamburg will be marked by election campaigning for a new poll on December 19. It is an effort to give someone a workable majority.

At the last election in June, no one managed to win a majority. The CDU won 56 seats, the SPD 55 and the Greens 9. Since no coalition has emerged to govern, the SPD has remained in office.

The question is whether the politicians should have done better at coming to a workable arrangement at the town hall. There is every likelihood that the composition of the new assembly will be much the same as the present one.

So what happens then? Another election, and so on, until the outcome is just right?

Party interests have changed in the past few months. The SPD was glad to have remained in government after the June election despite its defeat.

It reluctantly accepted the Greens — a pretty incalculable grouping — as negotiating partners. But the talks over Green support dragged on and no agreement was reached on such major points as the extension of the port facilities, nuclear energy and squatting.

Initially, the SPD rejected new elections. It was not until the FDP changed to the conservatives in Bonn and the good SPD performance in the Hesse election that the Hamburg SPD felt that the wind was better and went into the offensive.

Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi said the talks with the Greens had broken down and he demanded new elections.

He caught is rival, opposition leader Walther Leisler Kiep (CDU) on the wrong foot. Leisler Kiep had unsuccessfully demanded the dissolution of the assembly only a few weeks earlier, now he welcomed von Dohnanyi's proposal for new elections on 19 December.

But Kiep found himself left in the lurch by his own party, which suddenly demanded that the SPD Senate resign before the election and that the two major parties agree that the Senate be formed by the strongest grouping in the assembly after the election. The SPD rejected both proposals. The CDU seemed to be uninterested in an election.

The fact is that the conservatives now have every reason not to be particularly interested.

It is unlikely that the CDU will be able to repeat its very good results of 6 June when many a voter used the opportunity to teach the then Bonn coalition partners SPD and FDP a lesson.

It is also unlikely that the CDU will get a boost from Bonn. The new government there has been in office for a short while only and the decisions it has had to make have been anything but popular and can hardly be used in campaigning.

Moreover, the CDU will have to complete against an amazingly united SPD supported by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who will bring hius great popularity in his home city to bear.

The Greens were reluctant to agree to elections. Though normally in favour of grassroots democracy, they would have liked to have prevented the dissolution of the assembly and continue negotiating with the SPD.

But since new elections were unavoidable in the long run, they agreed.

Internally, the Greens are trying to reconcile two trends among their own ranks: the wing that is prepared to accept concessions to the SPD in order to achieve at least some objectives and the faction that favours "fundamental opposition."

This factionalism will hamper the Greens in their campaign. Another drawback is that the SPD will try to capture Green votes by arguing that it accepts the Greens as a discussion partner and that it takes environmental protection seriously.

The FDP narrowly foundered on the five per cent hurdle in June. It is unlikely to do much better this time following demoralising defeats in Bavaria and Hesse.

"If the voters return a three-party assembly without an absolute majority for anybody, the SPD and the Greens will negotiate again." Dohnanyi will have little option but to come to some agreement since he strictly rejects any cooperation with the CDU.

He could well regret this after 19 December.

Hartmut Contenius

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 October 1982)

FOREIGNERS

Integration or repatriation: right to choose is cornerstone of Bonn policy

Chancellor Kohl has been accused of using the issue of aliens in Germany to divert attention from other issues.

A Spanish priest, Felix Rodriguez, said the high priority given to the subject in the Chancellor's policy speech in the Bundestag was "no more than an attempt to justify the negative attitude towards minorities."

He told a meeting that relations between German and foreigners was poor and could only be improved by a new policy towards aliens. The Chancellor had only created more uncertainty.

Chancellor Kohl said in his speech that integration "is only possible if the number of foreigners does not keep on rising."

He announced that immigration of next of kin is to be restricted and that steps are to be taken to help voluntary repatriation. He was not more specific.

"We want a humane aliens policy," he said. Integration and frictionless coexistence was an important aim.

Foreigners must be able to decide freely whether they want to return to their home country or stay and become integrated.

However, a spokesman for the Turkish community, Enver Kücükoglu, told a CDU meeting held to discuss the issue that this was the clear statement that Turks in Germany had been waiting for.

Another speaker at the CDU meeting advocated a policy of repatriation. The trend towards an international society in the Federal Republic was only helping to lend legitimacy to the GDR's claim to be, historically, the only German state.

Hans-Jürgen Schilling, general secretary of the German Red Cross, asked: "Are we unable to see that we here in the West are losing our grip on German history by continuing to internationalise, making it increasingly easy for the GDR to declare itself the keeper of the grail of German traditions?"

He said the GDR's historical claim was not warranted. But, "what if, in 20 years, the Mecklenburger is still a Mecklenburger, the Thuringian still a Thuringian, while we regard ourselves as the citizens of a cosmopolitian and democratic Rhine Valley, still calling itself the Rhine Valley, though with decreasing accuracy?"

The CDU hearing and an SPD panel discussion a short while before it showed that there was no sign of any possible solution to the aliens issue, and that politicians still find it very hard to agree on basics and, indeed, on the terminology to use.

All participants had difficulties with the term "integration." SPD executive board member Herta Däubler-Gmelin advocated a "society open to the world," saying that her party rejected the "hysteria about Germany losing its national identity due to the large number of foreigners."

But she also said: "The current uncertainties and economic difficulties have led to a progressive rejection of foreigners by the public and a nostalgic flight into a cocoon — something that applies to foreigners as well."



She defined integration as: More information for both sides, an opening up of political and cultural organisations to foreigners, government assistance in the sectors of schooling and vocational training and more attention to the needs of foreigners in housing policy.

The fact that integration must not be seen as tantamount to total assimilation also became obvious at the CDU hearing.

It also became obvious that German sociologists and politicians differ widely on the limits of integration.

This made it difficult for the foreigners in the audience to learn much from the discussion.

For instance, economist and sociologist Karl Otto Hondrich said: "It would help internal peace and the economic interests of Germany if relations between the majority and the minority were governed by the employment interests of those concerned and if the gradual integration processes were steered. Such administrative measures as repatriation incentives and the restriction of next-of-kin immigration are usually counterproductive."

Professor of empirical sociology Hartmut Esser tried to contradict the claim that there were "scientifically provable limits to integration."

Though integration can be hampered by a relatively high age at the time of immigration, poor education and religious fundamentalism, none of these factors are absolute obstacles.

Concluded Esser: "In view of German traditions in dealing with foreign people over the past 80 years, it should not be surprising if the man in the street falls for alienation ideologies. But when pöoliticians and self-appointed experts on aliens do the same, they are either ignored or dishonest."

Schilling sees in the present economic crisis a unique chance to pursue a vigorous policy aimed at the gradual repatriation of about 300,000 jobless foreigners.

"Every foreigner who wants to secure a long-term livelihood in this country must be vitally interested in redu[cing] the number of his competitors bec[ause] he would otherwise have no chance [of] being accepted as a new citizen with[out] discrimination.

"To guarantee the future of these n[ew] fellow citizens with all the political co[n]sequences this entails would amount [to] more practical humanity than can [be] provided by those who reach for [the] stars with their multicultural ideals."

Schilling was the only speaker w[ith] such an interpretation of humanity [at] the CDU hearing.

Ada Brandes

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsbl[att], 31 October 198[2])

Every third foreigner is a Turk

Number of foreigners (mill.)

Number of Turks (mill.)

1967 1.81 0.17 9.5%

1971 3.44 0.65

1976 3.95 1.08

4451

Turkish attache says what should happen

Turkish-German friendship is under strain because of the problems involving Turkish workers in the Federal Republic.

While the new Bonn government is trying to draft a more viable aliens policy, Ankara has put its ideas on the issue in a more concrete form.

Despite assurances by Family Affairs Minister Heiner Geissler (CDU) that Bonn would go out of its way not to jeopardise German-Turkish relations, Turkey says they are already in jeopardy.

Necdet Basa, labour and social affairs attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Bonn, refused to comment on the latest statements of German politicians about the issue "even if these statements are not always in keeping with basic human rights, the German Constitution and the CSCE Final Act."

He stressed his government's interest in a lasting solution to the problem. But this would presuppose that the repatriation of Turkish workers and their families was on a bilateral basis because, he said, it was a bilateral agreement that brought them to Germany in the first place.

But what are such bilateral talks supposed to achieve? Ankara Prima Minister Bülend Ulusu and his labour minister, Turhan Esener, have repeatedly said that the repatriation of Turks must be voluntary, and that all financial entitlements must be safeguarded.

Basa was more specific on the Turkish demands that were to become the subject of bilateral talks. He said: "We insist that the whole of the contributions paid into the pensions fund, including the employers' share, be paid out with interest or transferred to the Turkish Social Security Office.

"This must also include Turkish workers who have already returned home and have reached the age of 60. Turkish workers' corporations and individual returning workers should receive German financial support to enable them to create jobs."

The attaché conceded that the prolonged presence of foreigners and their families in host countries has created cumulative problems that have been underestimated — not only by the Federal Republic of Germany but by Turkey as well.

"We have to face our responsibility here," he said.

Basa censured the restrictions imposed by Bonn for the next-of-kin wanting to join Turkish workers in this country, the introduction of visas for Turkish visitors and the rejection by the public of foreigners in general and Turks in particular. He said none of this would help the problem.

"Instead of talking of repatriation incentives, German politicians should join their Turkish counterparts in working out rational joint strategies that would enable the Turks in Germany to plan their lives over an extended period and enable them to decide whether they want to stay or return home," said Basa.

The attaché, an expert on international law, said that before further straining German-Turkish relations Bonn should consider Turkey's position in the Western alliance.

He emphasised that with its 500,000 men Turkey had Nato's largest military force after the United States, that it was a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and that it was an associate member of the European Community and was aiming at full membership in 1986.

The frequently demanded restriction of free movement of Turkish work[ers] within any EEC country after full me[m]bership — as laid down as a Commu[ni]ty principle in the Treaties of Rom[e] — is not for Bonn but for the Commu[nity] as a whole to decide, he said.

Despite their criticism of the attitu[de] of the old and the new Bonn gover[n]ments, the Turks evidently underst[and] the difficulties of the Germans.

Basa: "It is understandable that th[e] Federal Republic of Germany can[not] allow the immigration of more for[ei]gners, considering its own econom[ic] difficulties. There is no alternative [to] the integration of aliens in the Germ[an] social system. But this would presup[]pose the preservation of the foreigne[rs'] cultural identity."

In the Turkish view, German-Turk[ish] friendship will depend on an effecti[ve] fight against the public rejection of f[o]reigners, especially Turks — a state [of] affairs that is said to be greatly wor[ry]ing Ankara.

Basa: "We call on the mass media [in] the Federal Republic of Germany, [in]cluding Turkish dailies, to help ov[er]come the problems through more obje[c]tivity.

"We regret that Germany's libe[ral] asylum legislation has enabled ma[ny] mock asylum seekers to come to th[is] country — people who only want [to] cause unrest and whose left or right [ex]tremist activities in the host coun[try] have harmed the good reputation of [the] Turkish people and led to a hostile a[tti]tude among the German public."

Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter T[ürk]men and Labour Minister Esener [are] scheduled to visit Germany before [the] end of the year and discuss the issue.

German-Turkish friendship is som[e]in need of new ideas if Turkey is to co[n]tinue to play its important role in [the] Western security system.

Baha Güngö[r]

(General Anzeiger, 29 October 1[982])

PEOPLE

[T]he man to run in place of Schmidt

[W]est Berlin Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel, 56, is to be [Social] Democratic candidate for Chan[cellor] in the general election scheduled [for M]arch.

[Herr] Vogel, whose younger brother, [Bernh]ard, is Christian Democratic [Chief] Minister of the Rhineland-Palati[nate,] has steadily emerged as a man [who e]njoys the support of all wings of [the S]PD.

[The] Göttingen-born former Bonn [...] Minister and Olympic mayor of [Muni]ch was always top of his class at [schoo]l. He was a brilliant law graduate [and s]oon made headway in party poli[tics.]

[At] school and in his career he has in[variab]ly done his homework, proved [ambit]ious and intelligent and left noth[ing to] chance.

[He] was 34 when he was first elected [mayo]r of Munich in 1960 by 64.3 per [cent] of the city's voters. He was the [young]est metropolitan mayor in Eur[ope.]

[He] remained as mayor for 12 years [and] his popularity didn't wane. In [...] 1966 he was re-elected with 77.9 [per c]ent of the poll, which meant that [many] CSU voters must have voted for [him.]

[At] the same time he set out to restore [law a]nd order in the Bavarian SPD, [earnin]g a reputation as a man who [made] short shrift of Young Socialists.

[He] engaged in heated battle with left[-winge]rs in the party, warned against [what] he called a process of erosion in [the S]PD and took arms against the dan[gers] he saw arising from the academic [...].

[Mun]ich's SPD became increasingly [split a]long ideological lines. Herr Vogel [eventu]ally called it a day moved to [Bonn], where he took over the housing [portf]olio.

[He] left an SPD party organisation in [Munich] to pick up the bits itself.

[He w]as Housing Minister in the Cabi[net le]d by Willy Brandt as Chancellor [and] Walter Scheel as Foreign Minister [and w]as nothing if not consistent.

[Lan]d law was, he felt, unfair. Cities [were] growing increasingly unfit as pla[ces in] which to live. If a commitment to [...]ic reform made him a left-winger, [he s]aid, then he certainly was one.

[Af]ter the resignation of Willy Brandt [as Ch]ancellor (Herr Brandt had very [little t]ime for Herr Vogel's feud with [Bavar]ian SPD left-wingers) he was ap[point]ed Minister of Justice.

[As] Justice Minister he made a name [for h]imself as a liberal in the best sense [of th]e word.

[He] first had to advocate the inade[quaci]es of the new Divorce Act but [he] cut a fine figure in the dispute [over] anti-terrorist legislation and the [abo]lition of the statute of limitations [for m]urder.

[At] the same time he quietly made his [peace] with the left wing of the SPD and [stead]ily emerged as one of the most im[portant] members of the SPD-FDP Ca[binet.]

[He] earned a reputation for thinking [...], for being able to reconcile the [vari]ous wings of the party, for tolerance [and] for competence. Hans-Jochen Vo[gel, as] rumour soon had it, was crown prince and the man most likely to succeed Helmut Schmidt.



Hans-Jochen Vogel ... leaves nothing to chance. (Photo: Sven Simon)

In January 1981 he agreed to spearhead a rescue bid in Berlin, where the Social Democrats were making very heavy weather after Dietrich Stobbe had resigned as mayor.

His capacity for work was impressive. He was known to stay at his desk in Schöneberg Rathaus until well after midnight. The camp bed in his office was not a public relations stunt.

The clash with the squatters' movement was hard work. It was largely responsible for Vogel becoming a politician who consistently emphasised the need to exchange views with the young.

After a teenager died during street-fighting between demonstrators and the police he successfully championed the cause of peace talks.

But not even he was able to save the Social Democrats from defeat at the polls in the divided city. Yet he stayed on as Opposition leader and kept up the good work.

He canvassed understanding, if not support, for the squatters and showed himself to be willing to meet the New Left half-way.

The Alternative List, an environmentalist group, was new to the city council and he was keen to encourage it to adapt to parliamentary procedure.

Long before SPD leader Willy Brandt referred to the new left-of-centre majority, Herr Vogel showed interest in the Greens and Alternatives.

In the SPD he has steadily amassed credits as an integrator and a moderator. In Munich, where he had once done his utmost to implement policies he favoured, he emerged at the April 1982 party conference as an emissary between the wings.

After having created the impression of being something of a schoolmaster for years he suddenly developed a gift for speaking in terms as vague as those preferred by Willy Brandt.

The new-look Vogel is in favour, at least for the time being, of the dual-track Nato resolution (and thus, if need be, of missile modernisation) yet against nuclear power.

He shows understanding for the anxiety felt by young people yet can be sure of support from SPD right-wingers. The new Hans-Jochen Vogel is no longer as easy to pigeonhole as he once was.

He must work on the assumption that he will not emerge victorious from the polls and take over as Chancellor. But he may fairly assume that he can be sure of the chairmanship of the parliamentary party instead.

Hans-Werner Einecke

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 October 1982)

Interior Ministry best example of new political wind

No ministry better illustrates the change of political direction in Bonn than Interior. The new minister, Friedrich Zimmermann, and his parliamentary state secretary, Carl-Dieter Spranger, are both Bavarian Christian Social Union men and well-known for their right-wing Christian Democrat views.

Their predecessors, Free Democrats Gerhart Baum and state secretary Andreas von Schöler, were prominent members of the FDP left.

It was symptomatic of the desire for change that the FPD was obliged, in the coalition talks, to exchange the key home affairs portfolio for the equally classical but less important justice department.

From the start the Christian Democrats as the senior partner in the new coalition were as determined to bring about changes in home affairs as they were in economic or social policy.

The CDU/CSU in general, and the Bavarian CSU in particular, was determined to keep a tighter rein on the conduct of affairs after the slipshod way in which the government had been run for so many years.

Friedrich Zimmermann's is a name that can be equated with this point of view. Munich-born Herr Zimmermann, 57, calls himself a Liberal, but a Bavarian one.



Friedrich Zimmermann ... will not shirk responsibility. (Photo: Poly-Press)

That alone need not mean much. In Bavaria politicians who have been called to order by the courts for taking too tough a line on political extremists in the public service have been known to style themselves as Liberals.

Some of his opponents are still trying to blacken his reputation by resurrecting the perjury case that looked like ending his political career in the late 50s.

As general secretry of the CSU he had taken on the dirty work of ending the irksome political competition of the Bayernpartei by means of the Casino Affair.

His perjury conviction was quashed on appeal, but the reason given did not do him much good.

But that is all 25 years ago and those who still try to make political capital out of this old, old story are underestimating Friedrich Zimmermann today.

Interior Minister Zimmermann has three characteristics that are not typical of his Bavarian origins.

He is strong on self-discipline, keen on sharp-witted analysis (although preferably of the more forthright kind) and has never made any secret of his enjoyment of wielding executive power.

He is not a man to shirk responsibility. While others are still talking matters over he will already have arrived at a decision.

He has forged a second career by virtue of these characteristics, combined with his capacity for hard work and the many political tricks at which he is a past master.

Yet he still suffers from the reputation he earned in the 50s. In his maiden speech to the Bundestag as Interior Minister he referred sarcastically to his opponents.

They suspected him of everything, he said, right and wrong, truth and falsehood, but preferably the latter.

When he took over as Minister he said people would be surprised how carefully he went about his job, contrary to his reputation.

True enough, a change of course in home affairs is bound initially to be more a matter of words than of actions.

On environmental conservation, which is part of his portfolio, Herr Zimmermann has made speeches that for much of the time might easily have been given by his predecessor, Herr Baum.

Both in the Bundestag and on other occasions he has espoused ecological causes so strongly that his listeners have been most surprised.

Not content with that, he even endorsed regulations drafted by Herr Baum that would, if they were to be enforced, be a serious headache for operators of coal-fired power stations and the like.

But the regulations are not yet in force, and Herr Zimmermann stresses more than his predecessor did that a reasonable balance must be struck between economy and ecology.

"When other people's factory chimneys are smoking," runs a comment typical of the new Interior Minister, "we can't afford to tie a knot in our own."

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and time will tell whether the old environmental policy can be continued under new management.

A significant point is that Herr Zimmermann has sent his Ministry's top-ranking environmental expert into retirement.

Peter Menke-Glückert, a senior Ministry official and leading German theoretician on environmental affairs, is now kicking his heels.

The new man also sounds very determined on civil service pay, a sector in which his predecessor was not unduly successful.

Pay rises next year will be two per cent at most in the civil service, he says. It will be interesting to see how the coalition fares in its tussle with its natural allies, the civil servants.

It is hard to say just yet what the new government has in mind on issues such as data protection (computer snooping), anti-terrorist measures and the rights of applicants for political asylum.

Please steer clear of questions that go beyond 6 March (the election deadline), he said in one interview. He certainly steered clear of answering questions on such tricky subjects.

Economic, financial and welfare policies hold pride of place until the elec-

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THE ECONOMY

Employment: one way out of the dilemma

German unemployment is heading for 10 per cent. The search for solutions continues. One theory: the state must subsidise the use of manpower rather than capital. This is the opinion of Professor Wilhelm Hankel of the Berlin Science Centre. In this article for *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Professor Hankel develops the argument.

Since resources available to a growing population will stretch only so far, they must be used and distributed in the most effective way possible. The question is how?

The existing economic system is geared to distributing resources that are always in short supply to satisfy endlessly growing demand on them.

As useful as this principle might be in many areas ranging from fossil fuel to environmental protection, the resource of "human labour" is only conditionally subject to it.

Even in industrial countries where work is plentiful — let alone in developing countries that have little work to distribute — human labour is offered as a surplus commodity rather than one in short supply.

The economists are caught in a dilemma. Their advice that the production factor work be treated as a commodity in short supply and handled accordingly may be correct and useful for individual employers. *They must compete* by keeping not only costs but also the quantity and price of the labour they need at an absolute minimum.

But they have no way of knowing how large the potential of labour available in their particular society and economy is. This is not their problem but falls in the province of politics.

Traditional economic schools of thought still hold that the problem of full employment can be solved on a market basis. Like with any other commodity, they maintain, the surplus problems on the labour market can be solved provided the price is right.

According to these theories, it is ultimately the wrong (i.e. excessive) price of labour that is at the root of unemployment.

As a result, there is only one enemy of full employment, and this has been created by those who should guard the workers' interests: the trade unions. The enemy is excessive wage demands.

This argument that full employment can be achieved through the right wages — an argument readily adopted by the business community — ignores three major complications:

One. It is quite conceivable for employers to "want" full employment. But their markets do not permit it. It is only natural for VW to want to produce ever more cars and for it to be prepared to make concessions regarding wages; but market conditions preclude this.

Two. No matter how much the workers and the trade unions moderate their wage demands, the employers might not be able to accept the offer of low wages because they have more attractive investment possibilities for their capital. Why should Siemens put the money earned in boom periods into new job creating investments when it can derive profits without risks by investing on money markets?

Three. In our technical, performance-oriented society the employment creating side of new investments keeps diminishing. In primitive societies, labour and investment are identical. The farmer who removes the stones from his field or drains his piece of land makes but one investment: his own labour. In modern society, individual labour has been replaced by investment in capital goods. Machines, computers and similar devices do away with jobs without there being any provable link with wages.

Inventions are made or not made regardless of the wage level. Take old Rome: Here, the excessive and unaffordable price of slaves created no technology that could replace human labour, and as a result Rome's economy foundered on its underproductivity.

Despite mass unemployment, starvation wages and misery, the middle of the 19th century saw the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution whose overproductivity due to technology ultimately led to the hitherto unimaginable phenomenon of triple growth, i.e. growth of employment, business profits and wages. The same growth applied to Germany of the Kaiser's era and to the post-war Federal Republic.

Now, in Germany's worst employment crisis since the Second World War, all three exceptions to the rule that the "right" wages (and free labour markets) lead to full employment have come into play.

More and more production sectors are plagued by saturated markets both at home and abroad. As a result, overcapacities in these sectors are growing, and interest rates that have outstripped inflation offer ever more attractive possibilities for investments on money markets. Less and less money therefore goes into capital goods. The money channelled into financial investments is used to finance domestic and international redistribution processes.

> **"Earnings, financing, absorbent markets and common sense all in short supply"**

Headlong technological progress in the field of labour saving machinery destroys more jobs thanit creates.

The conclusion is obvious: while primitive society needs no labour market at all to ensure the full employment of those who want to work, the labour markets inour modern, division of labour and technology-oriented democratic society have proved inadequate now. The problem of full employment is no longer a market but a policy problem that has stymied our politicians.

Policy makers will have learned a great deal once they come to realise the limitations of the advice given to them by such textbook economists as the council of economic advisers.

Most of these strategies that boil down to such restrictive wage policies as wage freezes and wages that lag behind inflation are good for the individual employer, but even here they do not suit all of them equally well.

Such strategies result in only a few more jobs or fewer layoffs unless mass buying power and overall demand remain constant or rise.

Forgoing wage increases or putting up with a lesser rate of pay could save individual companies like AEG but could not bring about full employment.

Attempts to provide relief for the business community by reducing wage and social security costs do not — as modern supply-side oriented economists believe — increase the number of available jobs. To start with, they reduce demand and lead to even greater unemployment and social and economic decline.

Even the argument that domestic cost and income admustments are needed to improve industry's competitiveness abroad and tht the money thus saved at home could be used for instance to pay the oil bill holds no water.

Competitiveness now largely depends on exchange rates — and the USA is a warning example here.

Exports are closely linked with the absorption capacity of world markets and this capacity has been greatly impaired by an oppressive financial crisis.

What matters now is to overcome the wrong views that have for 200 years plagued economists and are still in evidence in the Lambsdorff Paper — views to the effect than any market or planned economy can only distribute as much as it produces without regard for the capacity of its resources and the degree of employment … As far back as 50 years ago when the lessons to be learned from the Great Depression were analysed it became obvious that, as John Maynard Keynes once put it, anybody who formulates a question wrongly must inevitably come up with the wrong answer.

What matters is not how a given product is distributed but how a potential product is financed. Keynes made a few suggestions of which some are obsolete now because they related to his time. Others are so timeless as to be worth being tried out today:

- When a demand bottleneck occurs because world markets are blocked due to over-indebtedness, the extent and distribution of international financial means must be reorganised.
- If demand stagnates because domestic investors avoid excessive risks and prefer to invest their funds on money markets that involve no risks and carry interest rates that outstrip inflation, either the interest rates or the risks or both must be reduced.

The two problems are evidently closely related. Without adequate reforms of the defective international … netary situation we can neither revi… se world markets nor put interest … structures back into alignment.

And without guarantees against … cessive investment risks we cannot … the flight of money into financial … vestments that reduces the number … available jobs.

This shows how naive and danger… it is to attempt to solve the employ… problem on a national basis and by … growing deficit spending. This crisis … like previous ones — has mone… roots, and there is no fiscal borrow… mechanism that could solve it, nor … there a fiscal cloak that could mak… disappear.

Reduced to a simple formula, … means: The Western governments … their central banks must at last arri… a common international monetary … cy that — as a short term objecti… would consolidate the shaky intern… nal credit pyramid and that (in the … term) would effectively limit intern… nal new indebtedness.

It is this indebtedness that is the … cause of the monetary unrest and the … tendant steep exchange rate fluct… tions couples with escalating inte… rates to protect national money … kets.

As a parallel measure, we need … forms of investment promotion. It is … the investment of capital that fav… the real assets of the entrepreneurs … the expense of the assets of non-en… preneurs that needs tax relief; tax … should be given for the proven us… increased labour.

Any economic and labour ma… policy maker knows that additional … cost money. The businessman who c… tes a new job provides relief for the … tion's social security funds and fills … national coffers through added tax … venue. He therefore has not only … ral but an economically justified c… to the state's and the workers' finan… participation in his job creating inv… ment.

To start with, we must overcome … provincialism that believes that … country has no influence on the w… economy. The truth is that the w… economy can be influenced by all … potting nations that depend on it. … must ag.ee to overcome their finan… blockad• if the threatening finan… crisis is not to lead to a further … crisis with all the disastrous conseq… ces — as demonstrated 50 years ago. …

There are two possible strategies: … The debts of near insolvent develo… countries and the weaker East … countries must be waived or fro…

Continued on page 7

The decline in demand

Decrease in orders from Jan—Aug 19… compared with 1981 (%)

Office machines computers etc +10.9
Cars 3.1
Plastics 2.0
Shoes 0.1
Elec. Eng. 2.7
Printing 3.1
Paper 3.8
Chemicals 3.9
Clothing
Glass 5.0
China 5.1
Textiles 6.2
Construction 6.7
Steel items 7.9
8.3
9.9
Wood 11.4
Rubber
Mech. Eng. 12.5
Ships 13.0
Furniture 13.4
Prec. Eng., optics

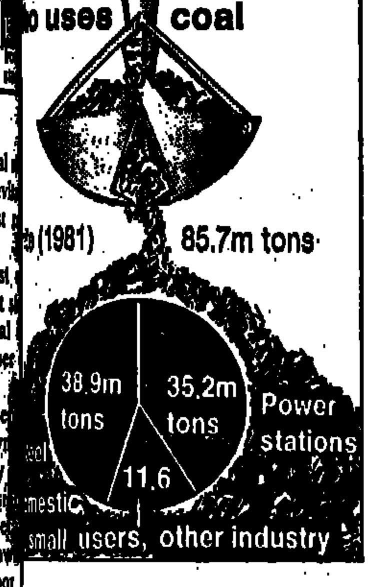
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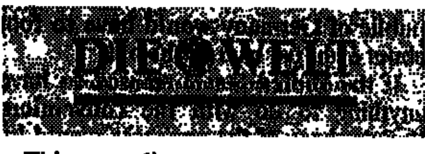
…USINESS

…he long-burning issue of coal smoulders on

…coal industry in Germany is in a …: 30m tons is lying unsold. … just the latest chapter in the …ma of the Ruhr which began in … 1950s.

… coal was regarded as essential … economic welfare of the nation. …ere to keep industry going. Pro… dirty word.





This mentality was so entrenched that efforts by mining interests to get involved in nuclear energy were blocked.

Diversification attempts were viewed with suspicion and prevented where possible. The industry wanted to take part in developing Rotterdam harbour for when the international coal demand rose again. But that involvement was stopped.

The industry then agreed on prices with the electricity companies. Bonn stepped in and, to save the purchasers a laughable DM6 a ton, reduced the agreed price by that amount.

As a result, the nation's largest coal producer, Ruhrkohle, found itself with a cash deficit of DM360m.

Ruhrkohle has always been a political issue, particularly when times are hard. Then "the sick man of the Ruhr" needs cash, and no government, state or Federal, can afford to let it fail.

Nuclear energy power stations have for decades been kept out of the coal mining region because every megawatt of nuclear energy would of necessity lead to a decline of coal capacities.

While nuclear energy accounts for 50 per cent of the energy generated in Lower Saxony, its share of the Ruhr area's energy is zero.

Ruhrkohle has no objection to the fact that the miners union, (IG Bergbau) with its 96 per cent membership of the labour force in that branch of industry is a dominant factor in North Rhine-Westphalia's politics.

Nuclear power stations the Ruhr would inevitably have been the death knell for the mines. But, as things stand, North Rhine-Westphalia's coal-generated electricity is exported to other states.

But even in economic boom times, the Ruhr melodrama does not turn into a comedy but into a spoof.

It is in such times that Ruhrkohle has a share in such pilot projects as coal liquefaction.

But as soon as Ruhrkohle tries to establish major plants to convert coal into valuable raw materials for the chemical industry or the energy market it is inevitably put in its place and told to produce at cost.

All this has its roots in the realisation that no coal can be produced in the Ruhr area without government assistance in one form or another.

Even so, the industry remains optimistic, pinning its hopes on a worldwide economic recovery and rising oil prices, which also boost the gas prices.

If the price of oil and gas starts going up again, the prices on the world coal market will also go up.

And once the high temperature reactor in Schmehausen has proved that it can produce the necessary heat for coal processing at a reasonable price (and hence for the steel and chemical industry as well) business in the whole Ruhr area might pick up once more.

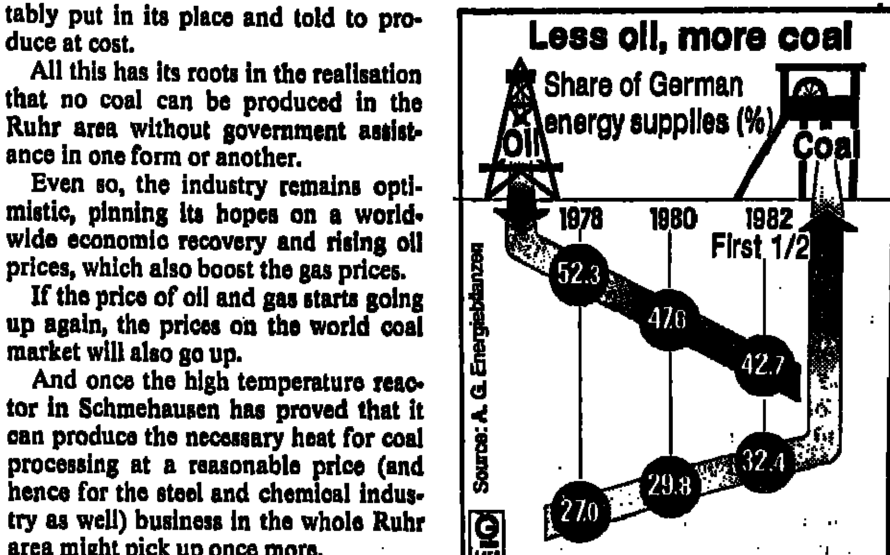
It is thus quite possible that the time will come in the Ruhr region as well when the slogan "Coal Plus Nuclear Energy" will apply.

All this could happen at the very moment when the contract for Ruhrkohle expires in 1986.

The mines could then be operated by owners who would also operate coal processing installations and who could actually make money from coal. This would mark the end of the melodrama.

Hans Baumann

(Die Welt, 3 November 1982)



…hreadbare in the textiles industry

…iles, the largest consumer goods …stry in the country, is wracked …nkruptcies and financial troubles.

… major cases involve two of the … companies, the Miback group …ermark, which employed respec… …,200 and 800.

…was one reason for the collapse … Mibach grew into a textiles em… … quickly. Finally it was unable … with its size.

…s also hit by the trend towards … clothing that hit its worsted … The final blow was declining … demand and high interest ra…

…rmark once belonged to Hendrik …lden though it was not involved …problems of the Delden empire. …bruary, Ellermark acquired sec… … the former Delden concern and … bit off more than it could chew.

… this mean that the large textile … in Germany have a tougher time … their small and medium competi… … not necessarily. The Nino AG in …, for example, has a payroll of …

… come up with its best business … in ten years, with a profit of … for the year to 31 March 1982. … before it lost DM8m.

… huge improvement came only af… … backs in production capacity and … The process was only com… … with a lot of wear and tear on the …

… nervous wear and tear is part and … of the textiles industry today.

… industry can expect little profit … the domestic market and needs to … to exports. But exports are be… … more and more difficult.

Heidrun Otte

(Handelsblatt, 1 November 1982)

Continued from page 2

potential, Russia's rear needs to be clear. In 1969 the Sino-Soviet clashes on the Ussuri prompted Mr Brezhnev to embark on the policy of detente to provide relief on the western front.

This time he plans to canvass Chinese favour to gain cover in the east should fresh tension occur to the west. But at present Moscow would be no more than bluffing if it were to try to play the China card.

The Europeans will be unable at the Madrid conference to prevent the superpowers from shelving the Helsinki process. The purpose of the conference is to review progress in carrying out the Helsinki accords.

As long as martial law is maintained in Poland and repression is intensified elsewhere in the East bloc a positive conclusion will be impossible to reach.

Mr Kampelmann was absolutely clear on the US attitude. America, he said, saw no prospect of business as usual. It did not want the conference to drag on for ages.

The Europeans are not yet prepared to accept that the demise of the Helsinki process is imminent. Bonn and Paris in particular are reluctant to wave goodbye to their diplomatic brainchild, the European disarmament conference.

Yet as long as the superpowers' arms control talks make no headway the European conference stands no chance of getting off the ground in any case.

The Madrid conference is unlikely to relieve tension. In acting out mutual recriminations it is more likely to heighten it.

So the US proposal is at least worth considering.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 November 1982)

Continued from page 6

through measures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the annual world economic summit. This would only benefit the exporting nations.

A liberal world trade on which in this country alone one-third to four-fifths of industrial jobs depend cannot survive if ever more participants in it become insolvent. A flight into protectionism (and the deliberalisation of trade and the flow of money) would be disastrous.

Two: The EEC — and other "incomplete" common markets and communities of nations — is faced with the problem of relieving not only its market for goods but also its money markets of the dollar fixation.

The European Monetary System (EMS) could provide both a model and a chance. But it would have to go a decisive step further and make it incumbent upon the partners in it not to float their currencies individually against the dollar but as a community.

A collective Ecu float would provide all partners in the EMS boat with more scope for interest rates that are uncoupled from American interest rates.

So far, a common EMS monetary policy towards the outside world has foundered on the opposition of its inventor and main beneficiary: the Federal Republic of Germany. Why?

Because this country wanted the benefits of the EMS (i.e. exports that are unhampered by exchange rate fluctuations in the EEC which accounts for two-thirds of Germany's total exports) without being prepared to pay the price of supporting weaker partner currencies more than it has done up to now.

What is the point in Chancellor Kohl assuring President Mitterrand and the French public that his country had no intention of taking advantage of the weakness of the French franc (by not encouraging the flight of money from France) while at the same time refusing to provide credit in support of the franc and reduce interest rates still further?

Integration is neither a one-way street nor is it mere payment of contributions to EEC coffers. It is also an affirmation of the common monetary policy, the best guarantor against too much European (regionally and structurally created) inflation.

New forms of national social, partnership and incomes policy are long overdue.

Such a policy calls neither for wage freezes as suggested by Labour Minister Blüm nor for intolerable wage decreases.

What matters in the present crisis is to provide relief on both the financing and cost side for undercapitalised major and small companies (ranging from AEG to those small employers who account for three-quarters of the jobs in this country).

The businessman who creates additional jobs is entitled to tax relief for his job creating investment.

But we also need a system of wage payments whereby a portion of the pay would remain in the company as an investment and thus relieve the employer of some of the buden of debt servicing.

This would provide additional job security by boosting the liquidity of employers and reducing their investment risks. The money thus channeled to the employer could be secured in both financial and legal terms.

This is a wide open, unexploited field for collective bargaining provided the parties do not regard each other as enemies. But in any crisis — and particularly in this one — earnings, financing and absorbent markets are in short supply — and so is common sense; not so much among those who are directly affected by the crisis but among those who represent them: governments and the parties to collective bargaining acting like "welfare doctors" and treating their patients with yesterday's remedies.

Wilhelm Hankel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 November 1982)



THE SEABED

Bonn still to decide as third sea law conference illustrates a point

Bonn is still deciding what to do about the new Law of the Sea Convention.

The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (Unclos III) is to be wound up at the beginning of December when the Final Act is signed in Jamaica.

But this ceremony need be no guide to the significance of the convention. It merely confirms that delegations have agreed on a specific convention draft.

The convention will not be legally binding until it has been ratified by 60 states, and even then it will only be binding on signatories.

So time alone will tell whether the outcome of nine years of talks will be in keeping with the importance of the subject.

The aim of the conference was to reach agreement by consensus. In this it failed. The United States voted against the draft in April. So did Israel, Turkey and Venezuela. Bonn abstained.

Washington has since reaffirmed its displeasure with the convention and said it will not be signing the treaty. Bonn is still reviewing the outcome.

The old Bonn government was keen to have the Law of the Sea Tribunal based in Hamburg. Bonn stressed that Hamburg's application in no way prejudiced the government's decision for or against the convention.

But the application only made sense if it was assumed that Bonn was broadly in favour of the convention as envisaged.

Preliminary statements by Foreign Office staff suggest for the time being that Bonn may well be prepared to sign, whereas reservations and a wait-and-see approach are evident at the Economic Affairs Ministry.

The final decision now rests with the new Bonn government.

Signing the convention as it stands has no financial consequences, although the work of the prepcom, or Preparatory Commission, will cost about $1.3m a year.

The prepcom, which is to carry out the provisions of the convention until such time as it comes into force, is to be funded from the ordinary UN budget.

By virtue of this odd decision agreed by the conference, opponents of the convention will help to finance it. But the costs will be much greater once it comes into force.

The general running of the convention is expected to cost about $35m a year. Initial investment in the International Sea-Bad Authority will total nearly $2bn.

Costs are to be shared in accordance with the UN cost-sharing formula, which would mean the Federal Republic of Germany would have to foot about eight per cent of the bill.

If the United States refused to have anything to do with the convention, Bonn's share of the expenses would be about 11 per cent or more.

The legal consequences that arise from signing the Final Act have not yet been clarified. By the law of international agreements as conventionally observed, signing a convention is not necessarily binding.

But a state must, once it has signed a convention, make sure that its behaviour no longer prejudices the aims and purposes of the agreement.

This requirement applies to both bi- and multilateral agreements, but its specific repercussions in connection with the Law of the Sea Convention are still far from clear.

The major issue is that of the legal framework for sea-bed mining once the convention has been signed, given that by the terms of convention sea-bed mining is to be the responsibility of the Authority.

It is hard to say whether signing the convention will authorise the Authority to assume responsibility.

An important aspect is that for sea-bed mining special preliminary, or transitional provisions have been included.

In respect of what are called pioneer investors the convention seems likely to apply in advance, as it were.

The developing countries are in any case of the opinion that an international authority ought to govern sea-bed mining, regardless whether or not the convention is signed.

The industrialised countries object.

If an industrialised country that had signed the convention were to continue to allow national regulations unilaterally to apply to sea-bed mining, an international tribunal would probably have to decide on whether the country was acting within its rights by doing so.

Regardless of the specifically legal aspects of signing, where sea-bed mining is concerned, signing the convention is sure to be more in keeping with the ideas of those who favour internationalisation than with those of advocates of temporary national activity.

The consequence for German industry would be the need to invest heavily within a legal framework fraught with uncertainties that would not ... such an extent if Bonn were not ... the convention.

Repercussions other than tho... national sea-bed mining interests ... also be borne in mind. Only repre... tives of countries that have signe... convention can serve on the prepc...

The prepcom must work withi... framework of the convention bu... have substantial leeway to decid... portant details.

So it could well be argued th... this reason alone it is important t... the convention and make sure of ... com membership as soon as possib...

The Federal Republic of Ger... would enjoy observer status o... commission even if it were not t... the convention, however.

Besides, what wight will the voi... a single industrialised country c... Experience gained in the course of ... ference negotiations are not encou... ing from Bonn's point of view.

The world is still busy weighin... the advantages and disadvantage... the convention. In the EEC Brita... present seems unlikely to sign. So... Belgium, Luxembourg and Italy.

The way a number of develop... countries, such as Ecuador and C... will decide is not yer clear. Argen... and Venezuela are strictly oppose... the convention as it now stands.

If leading industrialised countr... were not to sign, there would defini... be an effect on the convention's in... national standing.

It must be realised, however, tha... decide against the convention is no... opt for the legal position of old.

The distribution of a third of ... world's seas, the coastal and off... waters, is no longer a disputed poi...

In the course of the UN conf... so many coastal countries have ch... their minds and decided, both in t... and in practice, in favour of a re... bution that new customary rights ca... said to have arisen.

This will not apply to all the de... of the convention, such as the exclu... economic zone or the continental ... provisions, but the basic outlines of ... new arrangements are clear.

This legal development is of great ... portance for any assessment of the c... vention. It means that in the mo... ahead attention must be paid prim... to sea-bed mining.

The convention's provisions on ... bed mining are governed by global c... siderations of economic planning ... control aimed at ending the free m... in an entire sector of the world eco... my. What is more, it is a sector that ... be of extraordinary importance in ... context of the new international eco... mic order.

Bonn will have to bear in mind ... the convention will to some extent ... blish a firm legal framework for ... Law of the Sea.

By signing it Bonn would be m... a contribution toward orderly deve... ment of international relations.

But the course the Law of the ... Conference has taken over the past ... years shows up the limitations of ... assumption.

Few international gatherings i... cent decades have shown as clea... Unclos III that international rela... are not governed by organisation... statesmen committed to internati... ideals.

Even in this day and age the nati... interest of sovereign states prevails, ... this is something Bonn must surely ... in mind.

Dr Dr Rudolf Dol...

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Z... für Deutschland, 2 November ...)

Zimmermann

Continued from page 5

tions, the new government is fond of saying.

That is certainly what it says when it is asked why so little has been said so far about its policies on legal and home affairs.

Unlike the policies that are said to enjoy priority, home affairs are only partly reflected in legislation. The Interior Minister takes minor decisions almost daily that might change the country imperceptibly, step by step.

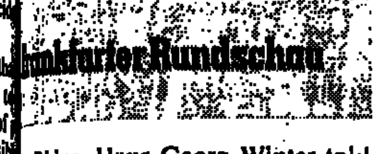
If doubts ever arise, Friedrich Zimmermann can be sure to decide in favour of strengthening the state's hand.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 7 November 1982)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Rhine pollution 'serious but not hopeless'



...Rhine, Hans-Georg Winter told ... Frankfurt press conference, had ... in poorer shape than it was today. ... Winter chairs the international au... of Rhine catchment area water ...

...the mid-60s the river reeked of ...icals, was caked in detergent foam ...then carried downstream a cargo ...d fish.

...se problems, he said, had at least ...been dealt with.

...e situation is serious but by no ...s hopeless," said Dietrich Ruchay, ...ent of the North Rhine-Westphalia ...ater and waste authority.

...blems persisted. There might have ...definite improvements but they ...not disguise the fact that further ...a specific pollutants were most im...nt.

...ine Water, A Critical Review was ...ading of the press conference. It ...ttended by scientists and local au...y officials under the aegis of the ...ical Industry Association.

...spite undeniable progress the re...did not always leave the chemical ...try in the clear, and its spokesmen ...unable to dispel suspicions that ...could be done to prevent water ...tion.

...e water of the Rhine takes some ...g: both for the level of pollution ...ich it is subjected and for the uses ...ich it is put.

...e water that flows along it amount ...y 0.2 per cent of the river water of ...Western world, but 20 per cent of ...West's chemical companies are ...on the Rhine.

...Rhine's catchment area also sup... 20 million Europeans, including ...million Germans, with drinking ...

...1985 the chemical industry ex... to use between 12 and 14 billion ...metres of water a year.

...ny people will be surprised to ...that it takes 20 litres of water to ...a litre of beer, 400 to 1,000 litres ...ake a kilogram of writing paper ...0,000 litres to make a car.

...lis Selenka of Bochum Universi... ...artment of hygiene said the most ...ome additives to Rhine water ... phosphates, organic chlorides, ...yclical aromatic hydrocarbons, de...ble organic substances and a hea...load of salt.

...called for an ecological frame... plan for major sectors and reo...tion of construction and develop... plans in the entire region to main... landscape integrity and the natural ...t of plants and animals.

...se, he felt, might be more impor... in the long term, but in the short ... priority must be given to reducing ...ount of toxic substances pumped ...the river.

...ine water had recently been found ...tain traces of chlornitrobenzole, a ...ogen. No-one knew where it came ...but waterworks in Holland tempo...y called a halt to the use of Rhine ...as tapwater.

A wide range of problems arose however. They were both scientific and financial.

Heinrich Sontheimer, a Karlsruhe University hydrochemist, said there were not always solutions to everything. Foreign bodies could make up 5 to 15 per cent of water undergoing purification.

Some were natural humic substances and thus not unduly important, although not all were unimportant.

They included polar halogens and sulphur compounds that ought not, he said, to be found in tapwater.

"In the final analysis," he said, "there are going to have to be specific recommendations on these substances that will mean they must be retained at the point of input."

His views tallied with those of other experts. Klaus Haberer of Wiesbaden waterworks said nearly all purification techniques had been harnessed, and none was 100 per cent effective.

Processing often was only 50 to 75 per cent effective, and even combined processes seldom managed to be more than 90 to 99 per cent effective.

He concluded that effluent toxins which were difficult to eliminate would best be dealt with by recycling or conversion of manufacturing processes.

Helmut Greim of the Radiation and Environmental Research Establishment, Munich, felt unable to rule out possible long-term effects of tapwater toxins on people.

They could not be ruled out entirely, at least not in theory, although they occurred in such small quantities that public health in general could not be said to be in jeopardy.

There was no way of saying, he said, whether combinations of toxins occurred that might cause cancer.

Science, he regretted, had declined in credibility. It lacked conviction. That was why, in his opinion, epidemiological research should look into the possible link between cancer and impure water.

Industry, Herr Ruchay concluded, sounding a positive note, was readier than five or six years ago to report accidents.

He said companies and local authorities should pool information more effectively to eliminate potential dangers the existence of which could not be denied.

Eberhard Weise, works manager of Bayer Chemicals in Leverkusen, went into Herr Ruchay's suggestion that dangerous substances might arguably be dispensed with.

On environmental grounds certain products would sooner or later no longer be manufactured, he said. But he wasn't saying when and was reluctant to go into details.

Despite such concessions, industry objects to environmental protection ending growth, according to Constance University economist Holger Bonus.

He was opposed to the "single-chimney policy" and to a strategy consisting exclusively of restrictions. He felt it hampered technological progress in environmental protection rather than boosting it.

He proposed linking neighbouring production facilities to "bubbles" as practised in the United States.

The idea was to lay down a specific pollution level that could be reached by cutting back heavily in some instance and less heavily in others.

Seven-figure savings had been the result, and as a further incentive credits at an environment bank were issued in return for further cuts.

Credits could be sold, lent to someone else or simply kept in reserve, Herr Bonus explained.

They would certainly make it interesting for companies to develop additional environmental protection techniques. There would also be an incentive to say exactly how much pollution is released.

Wolfgang Plischke

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 October 1982)

Whale hunt protest

Greenpeace uses a 50ft blow-up rubber model of a sperm whale to demonstrate outside the Norwegian embassy in Bonn against Norway's whale hunting. (Photo: dpa)

MPs show little interest in ecology debate

The political parties in Germany aren't taking environmental protection seriously enough.

A debate on the subject has been held in the Bundestag. All that happened is that a lot of fine words were spoken but not many MPs bothered even to turn up.

The debate was called to discuss Global 2000, an American survey drawn up by scientists at the request of President Carter.

Global 2000 paints an apocalyptic picture. Few doubt that what the scientists predict will happen.

Industrialised countries must hold back on exploiting nature. But the first victims will be the developing countries because indiscriminate felling of tropical rain forests is leading to changes of climate and growing areas of desert.

The report says the North-South conflict will worsen as a result. Arid zones, dead forests, polluted ground water and poisoned sea food are only part of what lies in store for today's children.

It is clear that action must be taken. But little is, either in the Federal Republic of Germany or elsewhere.

Appeals in the Bonn Bundestag must not close our eyes to the fact that there are not even the beginnings of an approach to avoiding the catastrophe.

As soon as action is called for, the old disputes resurface, such as which party does most towards environmental protection.

Yardsticks are applied that appear narrowminded given the threat that faces the world at large.

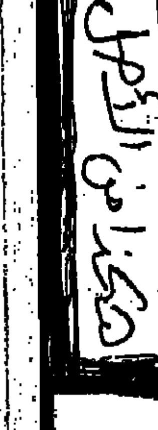
How long it took for the politicians to pay attention to acid rain! How long will it take for the cause, sulphur dioxide pollution, to be seriously combated?

There is powerful opposition to restrictions of any kind. How long will it be before there is any stop to the wastage of raw materials and domestic drinking water?

What practical shape is much-vaunted solidarity with the Third World to take?

The time has come to arrive at an answer to these and similar questions. None were given in the Bundestag debate.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 29 October 1982)



BEHAVIOUR

Accidents: why some people rush to help and others just look on

Police and ambulance services often arrive at accidents to find plenty of people looking on but no one helping.

It is a criminal offence not to help, but that doesn't make any difference. Why?

A Marburg University psychologist, Professor Hans Werner Bierhoff, has spent years trying to find out.

He found that accident witnesses show little inclination to help if they are not alone. This social inhibition became evident in experiments

Students who were in the process of filling in a questionnaire heard a crash next door. A woman had apparently fallen off a ladder and was lying on the floor — evidently hurt.

When they were alone, almost 70 per cent of the students rushed next door. But only seven per cent did when there was someone else with them in the room who also failed to help.

Further studies showed that the willingness to help diminishes in direct proportion to the number of witnesses. There are several reasons for this.

For one thing, responsibility in a group is split. Everybody knows that there are others who could help. As a result, they feel less personal responsibility.

The importance of personal responsibility become evident in childhood. Older children who have been expressly told to look after another child are more likely to help in the case of an accident than they would be if they had not been put in charge.

There are specific situations that encourage the shirking of responsibility. Witnesses to accidents are likely not to do anything if there is somebody who appears particularly skilled — in helping. People are particularly reluctant to help in cases where this means overcoming a revulsion.

There is no willingness to help a person bleeding from the mouth when there is a doctor present.

Victims are also likely to be left to their own devices when other potential helpers are nearer to the scene of the accident.

Some factors are positive: adults are more prepared to help in the presence of children.

The similarity of the victim with the potential helper also tends to arouse willingness to lend a hand.

People are more prepared to rush to the aid of somebody who belongs to the same social group — possibly in the belief that one could find oneself in the same situation.

Too many witnesses reduce the willingness to help because their own passiveness seems to minimise the seriousness of the accident.

When witnesses to an accident just stand around not knowing what to do everybody is likely to come to the dangerous conclusion that the accident is not all that serious. After all, they argue, everyone else seems to consider it harmless.

Suppose somebody next door falls off a ladder, bringing a bookcase down on top of him. The witnesses are bound to be startled at first. If at that moment they don't look at each other there will be no joint rescue action because nobody wants to expose himself to ridicule due to an excessive response.

However, this "pluralistic ignorance" only applies when the seriousness of the situation is not immediately evident — as perhaps in cases where the accident takes place in another room or another house.

Some researchers hold that the very fact of being observed curbs the personal desire to help.

But these research results are not uniform. They suggest that the effects of being observed depend on the cultural norms and habits of the witnesses.

Witnesses to an emergency are the more likely to overcome their inhibitions the more the victim seems to depend on their help, i.e. in situations where the emergency obviously refutes the old adage that everybody is responsible for his own fate.

People in need of help are more likely to be left in the lurch if bystanders feel that "they have brought it on themselves."

This would apply in cases where the victim was drunk at the time of the accident and therefore "deserved what he got."

By the same token, people who find themselves in trouble without their contributing to it can be more certain of sympathy.

But there are also what might be called born Samaritans: people who believe that there is a just order in the world are more likely to go out of their way to help others.

But this helpfulness, the psychologists say, also serves the purpose of preserving the Samaritan's idealised picture of the world.

Philip Martin

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 October 1982)

THE CINEMA

Romy Schneider's last film: boring and superficial



Romy Schneider's last film, *Die Spaziergängerin von Sans Souci*, is a boring one in which superficial emotions are piled on top of each other.

It has the Frenchman's favourite stereotypes: whores with a heart and Germans without.

The film was called Romy Schneider's "parting film". But the term is misleading because it evokes the idea of an artistic last will and testament. In reality, however, it was the tragic arbitrariness of death that wielded its power here.

It is also pure and pointless coincidence that this production by Jacques Rouffio was to become Romy Schneider's last film.

This is so even if, in an interview, Romy Schneider said: "For me, *Die Spaziergängerin von Sans Souci* is more than just a film — much more!"

It would be doing her less than justice to classify this remark as the usual PR talk. It is in no way unusual for high calibre artists to have a very vague idea of their own work. In any event, Romy Schneider's last film has turned out to be rather mediocre.

The very introduction with its credits underscored with the false pathos of pretentious violin music that has nothing to do with genuine melancholy. It dominates the film throughout.

The story itself unfolds on two time levels. It begins with the arrival at the Paris airport of Max Baumstein (Michel Piccoli), anxiously awaited by his wife Lina (Romy Schneider).

Baumstein, a businessman, is also the president of an organisation looking after political prisoners. It is in connection with this work that goes to the Paraguayan embassy. There, he recognises the ambassador as a former member of the German mission and shoots him dead.

This is followed by a conventional trial. Flashbacks unfold the background of this murder.

In 1933, Baumstein was a Jewish boy whose father was shot dead in the street by Hitler's SA men.

He himself (a boy of 12) was severely beaten and crippled by the men, later finding refuge with a publisher and his wife.

The publisher's wife and the child managed to flee to Paris while the husband ("a champion of good books") was taken to a concentration camp.

Here the soap opera gets off the ground. Elsa Wiener (also played by Romy Schneider) submits to the Nazi Ruppert von Legaert, her husband is released from the concentration camp and both are shot dead outside the Brasserie Sans Souci.

The film is based on a novel by Joseph Kessel (dating back to 1937) but the script writers extended the historic material by adding a contemporary prologue and epilogue.

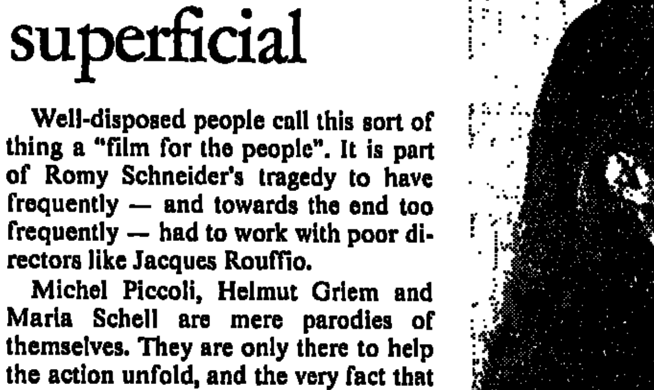
Die Spaziergängerin von Sans Souci is one of those French commercial films that are dominated by clichés and false sentiment.

Well-disposed people call this sort of thing a "film for the people". It is part of Romy Schneider's tragedy to have frequently — and towards the end too frequently — had to work with poor directors like Jacques Rouffio.

Michel Piccoli, Helmut Griem and Maria Schell are mere parodies of themselves. They are only there to help the action unfold, and the very fact that there are no close-ups of them shows that the director did not succeed in adequately exploring the personalities involved.

There are moments when Romy Schneider's unique talent lights up, moments in which mere pose is overpowered by the neurotic though highly sensitive acting personality; and moments that make one ponder a somewhat wasted artistic life.

It was also Kessel who provided the material for Luis Bunuel's exciting film *Belle de Jour*. It might seem idle to speculate on how Romy Schneider would have developed under a great director like Bunuel. Be this as it may, Rouffio was ignorant or he would not have given Romy Schneider the dual role.



Romy Schneider and Michel Piccoli in 'Sans Souci'. (Photo: Scotia)

She was an actress entirely of our day and age with our longings and sentiments. Playing a woman of the 1930s she only wears the dress of the era.

Every age has its physiognomy and its type of woman. In those days it was Marlene Dietrich while Romy Schneider was the perfect embodiment of the woman of today.

Small wonder then that it is impossible to separate the two parts of her dual role. She was so much herself as an actress that there was no room for historic imagination. And perhaps it is this to which she owed her tank in the world of films.

Romy Schneider's last film can be forgotten; but not the dedication "For David and his Father".

There were many people who wanted to dissuade her from having this dedication in the film. But she stubbornly answered: "I seem to belong to all. And if I belong to all, I want all to know what belonged to me — and what I lost."

Michael Schwarze

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 October 1982)

Hof festival shows what is in vogue

The Hof International Film Festival had something for everybody; the 50 or so films represented the latest works of both young and established directors and gave a broad idea of cinema trends.

Among the German premieres were Wim Wenders' *Hammett*, Hans Noever's *Die Flügel der Nacht*, Herbert Achternbusch's *Der Depp* plus first works of young film makers.

The Taste of Water, the first full length film by the young Dutchman, Orlow Seunke, was moving in the extreme.

Precisely and sentitively observed, the film describes the personality changes in a social worker hardened by his daily exposure to misery. He becomes so deeply involved with a totally neglected girl as to himself become a problem case for the authorities. This is a film that deserves international attention.

Working with a heart full to the brim, Hans Noever was off the mark with his *Die Flügel der Nacht*. It can be little consolation to him that this film that foundered on the message it tried to convey is more than just a piece of sound filmcraft.

His "story from Germany's near present" tries to convey too much (warning of a computer controlled society, ghettos and surveillance machinery) and explains too little. As a result, there is little sympathy with the fate of the social dropout Elser (Michael König), his beautiful love Rosa (Christine Boisson) and the state agent Goedel (Armin Mueller-Stahl) who wants to bring the dropout back into the system, chasing the two across the country. But there are still the magnificently beautiful night shots (camera: Robert Alazraki).

The comedy success of the festival was Marcus Bräutigam's film *Love Unlimited*. The film deals with the trials and tribulations of an inhibited lawyer and his lively girlfriend. The characters that have the audience rolling with laughter when it comes to the reading of a will in a stately home are Michael Wittenborn, Monika Baumgartner and Marianne Lindner ... an altogether delightful film.

The Munich film maker, Dominik Graf, 30, proves with his *Das zweite Gesicht* that he does not lack the talent for scenic realisation, but his excessively symbolic film leaves the audience cold. It is a confused story: back in 1890, a jilted young girl commits suicide by slashing her wrists. Ninety years later, the lonely big city girl Anna (Greta Scacchi) finds herself plagued by mystical bits of memory, clearly akin to the suicide of 1890. Last century's tragedy repeats itself when Anna is butchered by her boyfriend (Thomas Schücki, talented and casual). The suspense that could be inherent in this "second life" is wrecked by the tiresome repetition of special effects like the eerie footsteps that tap-tap with the regularity of a metronome.

Horatius Haeberle, who is also a successful author, uses the exotic and poverty stricken atmosphere of India as a backdrop for *Ein gutes Land* in sentimentally deploring the plight of people without hope.

His film depicts the miserable experiences of an Indian "guest worker" in Berlin, in the country of sold out hopes. However, there is enough suspense, liveliness and wry irony in his film to make it believable. It is a case of an intellectual making use of the charm that lies in naiveté — and the amused viewer falls for it.

Some discoveries from America: Jerry R. Barrish of San Francisco (formerly a sculptor) describes three foundered lives in his *Dan's Motel*. The three use the remote coastal motel as a haven. The film conveys melancholy far removed from the noisy American way of life.

Vernon Zimmerman, a protegé of the horror film specialist Roger Corman, was represented with three films.

His first work, *Deadhead Miles*, financed by Paramount in 1971 and then put on ice, is a remarkable forerunner of the road movie genre that was to become so successful later. The highway adventures of a trucker and a hitchhiker reverberate with biting wit.

Ed Stabile's pioneer drama, *Plainsong* was a aesthetic pleasure with shots whose forcefulness was reminiscent of Troell's *Emigranten*.

The film of 30-year-old Irish author Neil Jordan, *Angel*, deals with the escalation of violence in his country. Jordan was on John Boorman's team when he made the Oscar winning film, *Excalibur*.

Angel's hero is Danny, the saxophone-player in a dance band touring the provinces. Danny (Stephen Rae) witnesses the brutal shooting by a protection racket gang of a dance hall owner and a young girl.

The shock turns the formerly good natured Danny into an ice cold avenger. The camera man for this intricate story was Chris Mengé.

Herbert Achternbusch's *Der Depp* laid a real cuckoo's egg in the Hof film nest. The best thing about it: "the eulogy prologue" for Rainer Werner Fassbinder, "the man who was always in a hurry."

The rest was simply taking the viewers for a ride. Perhaps this could be put into more intellectual words; but since most viewers still lack the intellectual maturity needed to understand Achternbusch's "bizarre poetry," this should suffice.

And then, as a second helping, so to speak, there was Achternbusch's *Das Gespenst* depicting the experiences in Bavaria of Christ after escaping the cross ... what blasphemy!

Angie Dullinger

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 November 1982)



THE ARTS

Berlin plays it big in the shadow of The Wall

In the autumn of a Biennale and Documenta year Berlin has spent more than DM1.5m in government subsidies to ensure that it, and not Venice or Kassel, is the hub of the international art trade.

In the partly restored Martin-Gropius-Bau, a building in the late classicistic style in the shadow of the Berlin Wall, a gigantic art show has been held.

Where the Prussian exhibition was previously held the neo-Expressionist painting of the nouveaux sauvages is now billed as characteristic of the *Zeitgeist*, or Spirit of the Age.

The exhibition, designed as a counterweight to this year's Documenta, has two aims in mind.

First, it is a bid to gain acceptance once and for all of a style of painting characterised by strong emotion, gesture and colour (especially in Berlin and Cologne), with many references to the mythological and irrational (clearly apparent in the work of the young Italians Chia, Cucchi and Clemente).

The aim is to ensure supremacy of this style over the abstract (and realistic) styles of the 1970s, which are felt to bear the hallmark of repressive intellectual coercion.

Second, it seeks at the same time to view the exhibition as an overall work of art, and both bids look like being crowned by success.

The Zeitgeist exhibition seems sure to prove a favourite with the public.

Yet serious misgivings remain, especially the presumptuous equation of panel painting, which is so easy for the art trade to handle, with modern art.

It is as though panel painting were the only valid form of modern art, and of the 45 artists whose work is on show in Berlin, 28 were represented at Documenta in Kassel.

Only established artists are presented. No risks are run. Even more disgracefully, only one woman artist, Susan Rothenberg, has been accepted as representative of the Zeitgeist.

Oddly enough, the poorest work is by the best-known artists. Gilbert & George's commercial art, pictogram-style gigantic photographic panels are a fiasco.

Warhol's allegedly ironic historic architectural screen prints featuring classicistic and fascist motifs are empty and have nothing to say.

Frank Stella's mixed media formal trifles, consisting of metal springs mounted on canvas, cannot claim to be more than colourful in a friendly way.

Salomé's *Zeitgeist* pictures of swimmers are reduced to the level of pleasing wallpaper patterns.

At first glance the bid to reconcile the building and the works of art on exhibit, and to do so both aesthetically and politically, is impressively successful, but the overriding effect is merely decorative.

In the atrium Beuys' Environment dominates over the artist and his relationship with the Earth as his *Lebensraum* and artistic material.

It is a mountain of clay, of benches, of clay figures and a felt-clad transformer.

Borofsky's Man with Briefcase and Hat casts his gigantic shadow on the glass dome.

Two storeys of gallery surround the well of the courtyard, and eight painters were commissioned to paint four works each, three by four metres in size, to be hung between the pillars.

All except Cucchi (Clemente, Paladino, Salle, McLean, Middendorf, Fetting and Salomé) fail to come to terms with the enormous size.

Their work lacks tension and at times is merely ornamental. In the hall A. R. Penck blows up his "standardised figurative repertoire of outline figures" to two paintings five metres by ten in size.

Kounellis installs two of the stone walls he has built elsewhere between two windows, with a number of objects arranged between them.

In view of the depressing reality of the nearby Wall and mountains of rubble covering what used to be Gestapo torture chambers, the artistic and mental narrowness of outlook displayed by this embarrassing art trade installation is painfully apparent.

When Borofsky paints the walls of his room full of rose-tinted gems and a dream narrative, showing a statue looking out at another statue suspended outside the window in the direction of the Wall, the overriding impression is one of sentimentality in the glare of the searchlights.

The organisers of the exhibition and the artists from whom they commissioned work have failed to deal with the challenge posed by the location, always assuming they even tried.

Zeitgeist is a deliberately onesided overview of part of the contemporary art scene. As such it is well worth visiting Berlin to see, especially as there are some discoveries to be made.

They include Anselm Kiefer's historic landscapes from an evil era, consisting of paste-like layers of colour and objets trouvés.

Individual works by Werner Büttner and Dieter Hacker's paintings, composed in subdued colour, stick in the irritated memory.

So do K. H. Hödicke's mythological paintings, The Argonauts and Medea, in their colour and existential force.

Hartmut Krug

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 28 October 1982)

The Zeitgeist catalogue, published by Fröllch & Kaufmann, costs DM38.



Gérard Garouste: "La constellation du Chien". (Photo: Catalogue)

A disturbing one-man return to variety

Max Beckmann's early paintings, on show at the Bielefeld Kunsthalle, make up an extremely disturbing exhibition.

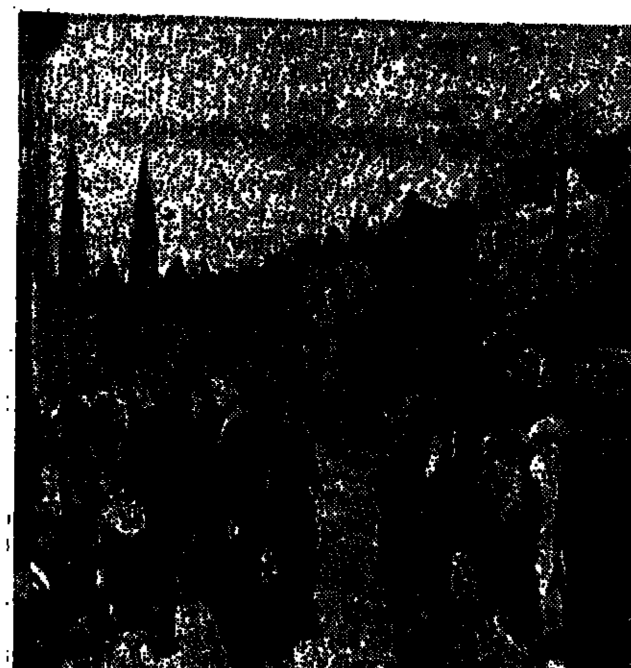
Anyone who was confronted with them unawares, as it were, could be excused for imagining they were a collection of paintings by precursors of the modern classics.

There are stately, and often impressive, portraits in the Lenbach style, seascapes reminiscent of van Gogh and a deathbed scene that could be by Munch.

Take a smattering of Skarbina, a great deal of Corinth and a large helping of late Impressionism, not to mention failed Marées mass and horror scenes, and there you have the associations that immediately come to mind.

Yet all these paintings are the work of one man. Beckmann was already held in high repute. At 26 (in 1910) he was a board member of the Berlin Secession, and he both painted a lot and sold well.

But he was not satisfied with his work, and even less so with that of his contemporaries. In January 1909 he wrote in his diary: "After the simplification of the van Goghs and the Gauguins there must be a return to variety. There is nothing beyond what these two have accomplished. "Indeed, we must return from what they have achieved to an earlier stage in order to strike out in a new direction." He was not to find this new direction until after the horrors of the Great War. But Bielefeld was not interested in the later Beckmann, an artist whose style is instantly recognisable. It has opted for his early work, which has little or nothing in common with the later Beckmann in either style or subject.



Max Beckmann's 'Die Tauentzienstraße in Berlin', 1913. (Photo: Catalogue)

The self-portraits are an exception. The first, painted when he was 13 or 1[…] is merely an awkward oddity. But b[…] 1905 he was capable of painting a mo[…] unusual self-portrait.

It shows a young man with sidewh[…]kers standing in front of a brightly i[…]minated window looking out on b[…] bright roof and a green wooded lan[…]scape.

Despite the seriousness of facial e[…]pression the painting conveys a frien[…]ly, almost cheerful impression.

Yet Beckmann was already experi[…]menting with a technique of light trans[…]mission that is invariably found in his later self-portraits.

His face is mainly in the shade and i[…] outlined solely by a narrow strip of light.

Two years later he painted himself in Florence as a self-assured young man in a black suit with a stiff collar and a ci[…]garette jauntly in his hand.

He portrays himself in front of the studio window at the Villa Romana where he lived in 1906 and 1907 as a scholarship-holder.

Not until an unfinished self-portrait dated 1908 do we see signs of the late[…] sceptic. Here too he looks straight at the painter, full frontal.

His eyes and mouth are in the shad[…] Only his forehead, cheekbones and ch[…] are lit by direct light. He is a man wh[…] is almost too old for his age.

The same stylistic elements and form[…] of expression recur in a three-quarter profile self-portrait against a gree[…] background dated 1912.

In between come an engaging full length 1909 portrait of Beckmann an[…] his wife in the spirit of the late 19[…] century and a 1911 self-portrait th[…] shows him laughing (sarcastically, o[…] must assume).

The exhibition is well worth a vis[…] just to see these six paintings. Ho[…] splendid it would be if only all Bec[…]mann's self-portraits were on show e[…]ther at an exhibition or in a single boo[…]

Peter Dittmar

(Die Welt, 26 October 1982)

MEDICINE

Skin: wrinkles, warts and the spoil-sport herpes

[…]he skin constantly changes during [li]fe. The changes are due to the bio[…]al phases of growing up or growing [old] and also to external influences.

[Th]ese changes in the functioning and [st]ructure of the skin were the theme [of] the 33rd Congress of the German [Der]matological Society in Vienna.

[Am]ong the major topics, apart from [the s]kin's aging process, were skin dis[…]s that are closely linked with spe[cific] age groups.

[Fo]r instance, head lice affect primari[ly sc]hool children. Their incidence does [not] so much depend on any particular [cond]ition of the skin at that age but is [on]ly due to favourable conditions for [the s]preading of the parasite.

[V]eneral diseases are also more fre[que]nt in certain age groups — simply [bec]ause the frequency of sexual contact [ob]viously depends on age.

[M]any skin disorders that are particu[lar]ly frequent in a specific age group [ar]e therefore not primarily due to the [con]dition of the skin but to circumstan[ces] promoting infection in certain pha[ses] of life.

[Bu]t naturally there are also certain [ana]tomical and functional factors in va[rio]us age groups that prepare the biolo[gic]al ground for certain disorders, lead[ing] to their concentration in specific age [gro]ups.

[T]he first topic of discussion, chaired [by] Professors G. W. Korting and H. J. [...]mann, dealt with childhood der[mat]oses.

[T]hese are disorders that occur in the [ini]tial phases of life and are linked with [par]ticular biological factors, making it [im]possible to compare them with the [skin] disorders of adults.

[P]rofessor Korting stressed the impor[tan]ce of paediatric dermatology — in [oth]er words, dermatology specialised in [th]e disorders of childhood and taking [int]o account that a child is a special [kind] of person rather than a person in [min]iature.

[A]part from hereditary skin disorders [and] general hereditary disorders that af[fect] the skin as well, there are a number [of] dermatological problems such as [neu]rodermatitis that develop as a result [of a]n inherited predisposition.

[T]hese disorders that are also in[flu]enced by outside factors have been [the] subject of considerable research.

[In] the course of treatment, doctors [ha]ve observed certain immunological [pec]uliarities that are not only of great [sci]entific interest but could also point [the] way to new therapies.

[A]long with scabies, psoriasis and ur[tica]ria, neurodermatitis is among the [mos]t common childhood skin disorders. [T]hese are followed in importance by [fun]gal infections and acne vulgaris in [pub]erty.

[T]he experts who met in Vienna were [sus]piciously critical of new therapy [met]hods and their application to chil[dre]n. They suggested that — especially [in t]he case of children — drugs and the[rap]y methods with inadequately resear[che]d side effects be used with the great[est] of caution due to their possible [lon]g-term consequences.

[T]he special physiological conditions [tha]t apply in childhood make it essen[tia]l that the skin disorders of children [be t]reated by specialists.

[A]nother important topic was the changes that affect the skin in old age, sich as precanceroses, pseudocanceroses and paraneoplasias.

Precanceroses are preliminary stages of human cancer; pseudocanceroses are, as the name implies, symptoms that suggest cancer without actually being malignant; and paraneoplasias are changes in the skin resulting from the existence of a malignant tumour in some organ.

But none of these are metastases. They are changes that some specialists regard as immunological or hormonal reactions that have a signal effect. All three can often only be detected under a microscope.

Professor H. Gartmann, of Cologne, was awarded the Paul Gerson Unna Prize for his diagnosis and early detection methods for melanoma, a malignant tumour originating in the pigment cells.

Professor Gartmann's work centred on the preliminary stages of melanoma and so made an early diagnosis possible.

He acts as consultant for German hospitals and many melanoma patients owe him a great deal — either because his diagnosis spared them unneccessary surgery (when a previous melanoma diagnosis proved wrong) or because surgery in time saved their lives.

Professor H. Tronnier, of Düsseldorf, was awarded the Johann Wilhelm Ritter Medal for his work on radiation dermatoses caused by ultra-violet or infra-red rays and for his therapy for such skin disorders as psoriasis. Here, he selectively used ultraviolet lights of a specific, closely defined wave length.

Professors H. Holzmann and P. Altmeyer, of Frankfurt, reported on entirely different effects of ultra-violet radiation. They suggested that ultra-violet rays influence endocrinological processes through their effect on the hypothalamus-hypophysis axis, the regulatory system responsible for the body's hormonal balance.

It has been known for some time that changes in the endocrinological balance can affect the pigment synthesis of the skin. Typical examples are the hyperpigmentation (brown discolouration) frequently observed during pregnancy or after taking ovulation retardants.

Holzmann and Altmeyer showed that the hormone stimulating melanocytes (a hormone that is of major importance for pigment cells) can be activated by long wave ultra-violet light.

But this applies only to Caucasians, not to dark skinned people.

Taking into account here that certain types of malignant melanoma never occur in coloured people, it would appear feasible that long wave ultra-violet light could have some bearing on the development of melanoma in Caucasians.

Virus-based diseases play a major role in dermatology as well. With this in mind, Professor H. zur Hausen, Freiburg, was awarded the Schaudinn Hoffmann Plaque for the light he shed on the effects of viruses on warts.

He succeeded in linking various types of warts with specific viruses.

Incidentally, genital herpes is also a virus disease. This is extremely widespread today and is mostly transmitted through sexual contact.

Professor Th. Nasemann, of Hamburg, dealt extensively with herpes, from which 20 million Americans are said to be suffering.

This virus, which has been called the "love virus," is the Type 2 strain of the herpes simplex virus.

Type 1 of herpes simplex affects primarily the face, the lips and the mucuous membranes in the mouth.

This type of herpes is rarely transmitted through sexual intercourse while Type 2 is usually localised in the genital and anal regions. This is mostly — though not always — transmitted through sexual intercourse.

Today's epidemiological situation is characterised by an increase in infections with the herpes simplex virus Type 1 and — even more so — Type 2.

The increase in infection is a worldwide phenomenon. It is important to know that infection can only occur as long as fresh blisters are in evidence.

Efforts are now naturally concentrated on the search for virus-retarding substances.

G. N. Chilf and U. Runne, of Frankfurt, reported on such a substance: acyclovir, a synthetic, acyclical nucleocide that retards the development of viruses in patients with severe herpes zoster (shingles) which is also caused by a virus of the herpes group.

Given in time, the drug has proved extremely effective. Incidentally, herpes simplex Types 1 and 2 also respond well in first infections. Acyclovir is ineffectual in relapse cases.

A paper presented by H. Strempel and G. Klein, Marburg, dealt with the laser treatment of birthmarks.

The treatment, borrowed from opthalmology, makes use of the high temperature created by the laser beam.

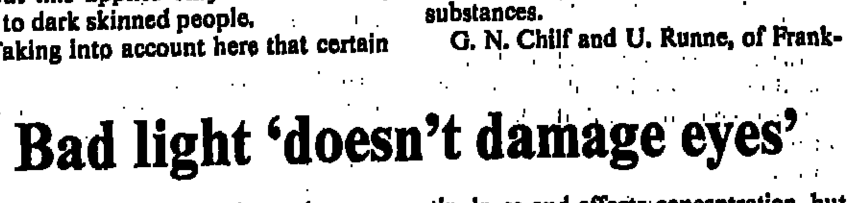
One drawback here is that the surrounding skin tissue is destroyed along with the birthmark to be removed. But new types of laser can largely contain this damage.

Dörthe Wacker

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 October 1982)

The cutting note

A patient being wheeled into the operating theatre in Hellergen, near Lüdenscheid, West Germany, listening to music through earphones. The idea belongs to Dr Roland Droh, who says music relaxes patients. (Photo: AP)



Bad light 'doesn't damage eyes'

Poor lighting does not harm the eyes, according to a Munich University report. It doesn't matter even if the light is so poor that a great deal of effort is needed to see anything at all.

The report, produced by Professor Erwin Hartmann for the Bavarian Social Affairs Ministry, contradicts generations of parents who have told their children not to read by torchlight under the blanket after the light has been turned out.

Reading under poor light causes tiredness and affects concentration, but does not damage the eye, says the report, which is principally aimed at improving conditions for workers.

The report contradicts the prejudice that neon lighting causes stress that can make people ill.

It does, however, recommend that this type of lighting should use more warm colours to prevent negative psychological effects.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 October 1982)

Liver danger from the pill

The pill, like alcohol, can destroy the liver, the body's chemical laboratory.

The liver is frequently unable to break down the synthetic hormones contained in the pill, leading to a blockage of the gall ducts and hence to jaundice, a paediatricians' congress in Bad Orb has been told.

Professor H.J. Stutte of the Pathological Institute of Frankfurt's University Hospital said that liver damage repairs itself easily and quickly and that no lasting problems arise if the use of the pill is discontinued.

Only 0.7 litres of wine or 2 litres of beer consumed daily by men over a period of five years can lead to liver damage.

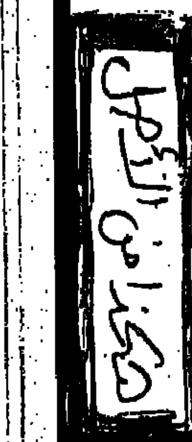
The same applies to women if they consume only 0.25 litres of wine or 0.7 litres of beer a day.

But as soon as the alcohol intake is discontinued, the liver begins to regenerate.

Where a patient whose liver has been damaged continues to drink, death can occur in two to three years.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 October 1982)



CRIME

More charged in case of drug squad and the hashish croissant picnic

Croissants containing hashish were baked by a police inspector as a joke for a works outing by Frankfurt's narcotics squad. But the plan backfired.

A dozen of the two dozen or so officers at the barbecue helped themselves. Most ended up in hospital because the dose of cannabis was too strong for them.

The baker, a master baker by trade before joining the police, is serving an 18-month sentence for his part in the affair.

Two other police officers are in the dock in Frankfurt for aiding and abetting him, while the remainder of the squad seem to be giving evidence.

The story is much the same at another Frankfurt court where staff of the Wiesbaden *Bundeskriminalamt*, or Federal CID, are either in the dock or giving evidence.

While one officer is accused of corruption, accepting bribes from a car dealer, others are in court to follow the progress of the trial.

As one CID officer told the court, some officers were standing trial, others were seconded as court observers and no-one was left to mind the shop.

Sex and crime to gladden the heart of any court reporter are the subject of another case up before the courts in Frankfurt.

A shoot-out near the city's main railway station seems to have been between rival gangs of Israeli heroin dealers, with power, girls and shares of the narcotics market at stake.

Nearly one court case in four in Frankfurt involves drugs.

Fifty Turkish heroin dealers will soon stand trial accused of smuggling 20kg and 40kg parcels of the drug from Turkey and shipping it into Germany by truck convoys for stockpiling in Oldenburg.

Other cases in a wide range of sectors covered by the Frankfurt bench include squatting, breaches of the peace by left-wing opponents of the proposed new runway at Rhine-Main airport and offences by right-wing extremists.

The confidence trickster from Budapest who led unsuspecting women down the garden path rather than up the aisle of a church is a reminder of bygone days.

That is not necessarily true of another rare bird, the board chairman of a bankrupt bank accused of illegally selling securities worth more than DM2bn.

The croissant case began as a practical joke and might have remained one, but it is now a party-political issue and a millstone round the neck of the city's narcotics squad.

It all began nearly five years ago, and no-one had the slightest idea that the shock waves would still be shaking the squad today.

Politicians were galvanised in action years ago by the growing number of drug deaths and a general feeling of helplessness in connection with narcotics problems.

The manpower of Frankfurt police's narcotics squad was steadily increased. More and more officers were drafted in from other departments. They were not always the best men.

The squad now has an active strength of 36, and it has been remarkably successful. On its account a ring of drug-smugglers from the Kurdish area of Turkey transferred operations to Oldenburg.

But it is hard work, and getting harder. The only way to get results these days is to smuggle undercover agents into the drug rings.

To make matters still more difficult, the use of undercover agents can create serious difficulties in securing convictions.

The drug scene is depressing and the situation is not really improving. More men in the narcotics squad may mean more cases in court, but that has its drawbacks.

It means months and years of litigation, costing time, nerves and millions of deutschemarks in expenses.

Many Turks seem in no way alarmed at the prospect of six to eight years in a German jail. They still stand a chance of earning a packet, and back in Turkey entire provinces depend on the narcotics trade for a livelihood.

One of the most successful narcotics squad specialists, an expert on the Narcotics Act, is sceptical even after the police coup of breaking up a ring that seems to have smuggled several hundred kilograms of heroin into the country.

He is Dr Harald Körner, a Frankfurt public prosecutor. "The heroin market in Frankfurt has by no means run dry," he says. "We have done no more than scratched at the paint."

Against this background the croissant case appears fairly harmless. But it has generated ongoing public interest.

People were initially laughing up their sleeves at the police having been caught with their pants down. But later developments proved less amusing.

The tale that emerged was not just the usual one of dirty linen being washed in public and of squabbles and tension of the kind we are all familiar with at work.

Frankfurt narcotics squad seems, at least at the time the offence occurred, to have been low on morale and, arguably, efficiency.

At the end of June 1980 the squad had arranged to hold an outing in the form of a barbecue near Sterbfritz, a small country village.

Unofficially, a couple of trays of hash-filled croissants were to be served. The officers who had this bright idea felt it would be hilarious to see their superiors hopping about as high as kites.

One of the offenders was the ex-baker, who was given an 18-month sentence a year ago by a Wetzlar court. Charges have now been preferred against two others, a 30-year-old sergeant and a 26-year-old woman CID officer.

They are said to have been the masterminds behind the plan, and they stand accused of perjury for having denied these allegations under oath in Wetzlar.

It is one man's evidence against another's. Who is telling the truth? The entire narcotics squad looks like being cross-examined in court.

The prosecution's case is that the two younger officers were out to make a fool of their older colleague. The idea first occurred to them at a champagne party at police headquarters in December 1977.

The master-baker was one of many newcomers to the squad. He was only too happy to be of service to the two accused, who were younger and more self-assured.

This may well have been because he was only able to impress his colleagues with his Sherlock Holmes pipe. He was not otherwise held in high repute.

"He was absolutely useless," one [of] the accused told the court. "The o[nly] thing he was any good at was mak[ing] photocopies."

This statement is typical of the k[ind] of the slanging match that has been [go]ing on in court.

The accused are said to have persua[]ded their superior officer, the baker, [to] bake hash cookies for a Christm[as] party. He was given 60 grams of h[ash] for a dummy run.

The test cookies seem not to have h[ad] the required effect, but the accused d[id] not lose hope. They planned to [try] again at a party to be held after a spo[rts] festival.

But when the time came the ba[ker] had no hash and wasn't sure of a rec[ipe] either. Undismayed, the accused [told] him how to put a little of the basic [in]gredient aside and rustled up a recipe.

Everything seemed to be just fine [for] the outing. One of the accused had p[il]fered 300 grams of hash from a 30[kg] find made by the police.

The baker was ill and off work b[ut] wanted to be as good as his word, so [he] made the hash croissants on the morn[ing] of the outing.

There were two trays of tasty croi[s]sants, but the baker (a newcomer to th[e] squad, remember) was unaware that h[e] was using highly refined hashish. Th[e] effect was disastrous.

The party were only too happy to try the croissants because the barbecue fire wasn't burning properly. A dozen squad officers helped themselves.

But many made do with a single bi[te] because the croissants tasted bitter, y[et] that one bite was more than enough. "[It] was like a battlefield," an eye-witne[ss] recalled.

Police officers staggered round [the] forest reeling under the effect of [an] overdose of cannabis. All were si[ck]. Some were unconscious. Most end[ed] up in hospital.

The Frankfurt trial was originall[y] scheduled to take three days. It has no[w] been in progress for several weeks and looks like taking several more.

Herbert Neumann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 November 1982)

'Educated exempt' from laws on drinking, driving

The driving habits of educated Germans have come under criticism. They drive after they drink, unlike most of the population, says a doctor.

Professor Joachim Gerchow, a forensic medical expert from Frankfurt, told a meeting that educated people "won't listen to anybody."

Professor Gerchow was addressing the annual congress of the German Anti-Addiction Society in Darmstadt.

He said the police did not have enough time to deal with drunken drivers because they were too busy handling demonstrations.

The average level of alcohol in the blood in cases of drink-driving was 0.2 per cent compared with the legal limit of 0.08 per cent; 0.25 per cent was no rarity.

Ten per cent of 16 year olds convicted have alcohol level of 0.2 per cent or more, Professor Gerchow told the 400 delegates who included doctors, judges, lawyers, psychologists and social workers.

Germany's new Narcotics Act came under heavy criticism. Under the Act, which was passed barely a year ago, drug addicts can be sent to rehabilitation centres before getting sentenced.

But the number of addicts sent to the centres has decreased in that time.

Some speakers at the congress said that sentences have become stiffer rather than more lenient, although prisons complain that they are unable to cope.

Hans Alfred Blumenstein, presiding judge at a Stuttgart court, nevertheless told a press conference the new Act was a step forward. He did, however, stress that the judiciary and the medical profession must still learn to deal with the possibilities opened up by the Act.

But Blumenstein criticised the special status the Act gives to drug addicts rather than addicts in general.

Alcoholics, for instance, do not enjoy the privileges of drug addicts, he said. He would have preferred across the board provisions in the general part of the criminal code.

There has been considerable progress in technology. A well equipped lab can now find out how much of almost any type of common narcotics has been taken by analysing a person's saliva, urine or blood, even days after ingestion.

Such testing facilities are bound to play a considerable role in preventi[ng] relapses and in probation cases.

The main problem here is the cost o[f] the equipment, up to DM500,000.

Though there are less costly method[s] of analysis, they are not adequate a[nd] cannot be applied to all types of drugs.

More and more people driving unde[r] the influence of drugs — including he[roin] — have been detected near th[e] German-Dutch border. The troub[le] here is that they have no symptoms th[e] average police officer would recognise.

Professor Gerchow attacked the offi[]cial sale of cannabis to young people [in] Enschede, in Holland, near the Germa[n] border. He called it "a clear breach [of] international agreements."

Per capita consumption of alcohol [in] Germany went down from 12.67 litr[es] of pure alcohol in 1980 to 12.44 litres [in] 1981.

Even so, the Society deplored the fa[ct] that too little attention was being pa[id] to the social consequences of drinki[ng] for the family, at work and in the imme[]diate social environment.

Forensic medicine experts said th[e] average blood alcohol levels establishe[d] in connection with road accidents ha[d] risen steeply.

Joachim Neander

(Die Welt, 27 October 1982)

MODERN LIVING

A portrait of poverty in the wealthy welfare state, Germany

[]ty in Germany was the subject [of a] conference at the Protestant Academy in Loccum, near Ha[nover].

[]oth, of the Church social servi[ces] in Norden, East Frisia, dealt [with a c]ategory of poverty typical of the [] society.

[]problem was families who de[pend on] hire purchase instalments when [the bread]winner is suddenly, unexpec[]ted.

[N]orden, a town of 18,000 people, [h]is social workers workers were [to] help about 50 families caught [in a p]articular poverty trap.

[]en them they were about [DM]000 in debt.

[There] are about 10 advice centres in [] parts of Germany that help peo[ple in] this predicament, usually young [people] who furnish their homes on [what is] temptingly referred to as easy [].

[] usually have next to no idea [how to] run their finances in a business[like m]anner and are charged heavy in[teres]t on arrears.

[They] need to refinance their debts [and] for more realistic instalments. [They m]ust be prepared to face up to [their po]sition.

[Psych]ological care must be taken to [avoid] tragedies such as suicide bids [and to] ensure they don't run up even [] higher debts.

[Advic]e on handling family debts [is] becoming a new job for social [workers] who are often enough liquida[tors of] families that have gone to the [].

[Pover]ty is hard to reconcile with the [image of] Germany as a welfare state, and [a wealth]y one.

[Is there po]verty conceivable in a country [with a] GNP of nearly DM1,500bn, a [nationa]l income of DM18,769 per head [] and average monthly earnings [of DM]2,369 per employed person in [].

[There] is no clear definition of pover[ty. It] need not just be a matter of mate[rial shor]tages, of food, clothing and [].

[It can] be inability to take part in the [] life of society or to give the [children] a decent education. Diogenes [lived h]appily in a barrel and wanted [only to] be able to enjoy the sun; he [was not] poor.

[The] EEC Council of Ministers called [on Com]mon Market countries to draw [up a pov]erty balance sheet in 1979. It [gave] this definition:

[Indiv]iduals or families are poor who [have su]ch limited funds at their dispo[sal that] they are excluded from the way [of life th]at is regarded as an acceptable [minimu]m."

[Richar]d Hauser, the Frankfurt don [who dre]w up the balance sheet for the [Federa]l Republic of Germany, was a [speaker] at the Loccum conference.

[The p]overty line in Germany, he said, [with re]ference to the Welfare Act, lay [betwee]n DM600 and DM700 per single [person] per month.

[The ba]sic level laid down in the Wel[fare Act] is DM338. Then comes an ex[tra] 12 per cent for items such as [a c]oat for the winter, or furniture. [Allowance]s were made toward the cost of [running a] house. Allowances were granted toward personal requirements such as newspaper subscriptions.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

But Professor Hauser's claim that DM200 was an average amount to budget for rent and heating was greeted with incredulous laughter by the assembled social workers.

The Norden claimants' group listed the following amounts to which a family of four were entitled:

- DM338 for the disabled breadwinner;
- DM270, or 80 per cent of the first sum, for his wife;
- DM152 and DM253 for the children;
- DM480 housing allowance.

From this total, DM1,493, the following deductions must be made:

- DM485, the man's disability pension;
- DM307, the children's allowance supplement to his disability pension;
- DM340, the family's housing grant.

That left DM350 which the local authority welfare department still had to pay. Besides, special grants could be applied for whenever the need arose.

Welfre recipients, the Professor said, were aided to ensure they stayed above the poverty line. Bonn did not classify them as poor.

Helmut Hartmann of the Institute of Social Research, Cologne, said there were 2.1 million people in receipt of social security payments.

Everyone at Loccum agreed that at least the same number again were in a comparable position.

Many refused to claim social security because they felt ashamed. Others didn't know they were legally entitled to it. Then there were the 80,000 vagrants (or 100,000, some now say).

None were registered. Neither were large numbers of poor foreigners who were afraid they might to served deportation orders.

The registered poor did not include applicants for political asylum or people living in institutions.

Social workers also disagreed with the authorities in Bonn in feeling social security claimants must be classified as poor.

The North Rhine-Westphalia claimants' union writes in a brochure that: "both the amounts paid in allowances and the criteria by which grants are made are highly controversial.

"So we feel there would be every justification for classifying welfre recipients as poor."

Hartmann said the basket of goods and services on the basis of which the cost of living was assessed for social security purposes was no longer accurate.

It was drawn up in 1970. The basic allowance might be revised from year to year. This year it ranged from DM328 in Bavaria to DM374 in Hamburg.

But the contents of the basket were no longer relevant to real life, and the real cost was 20 to 25 per cent higher.

The basket had recently been reviewed but the findings of the survey were classified information. Local authorities had intervened to ensure they were not disclosed.

Claimants told the conference what being on the bread line was really like.

It was particularly hard on the children, a single mother of three said:

"Shortage of money leads to increasing aggression between parents and children. The children are punished for parental poverty because pocket money is not included in the children's allowance.

"When the children's allowance is cut next year the children and I are definitely going to be below the social security poverty line."

Another mother of three complained that her son could not go to see a soccer match and her daughter could not go the hairdresser's because money was short.

This is a tale that could be repeated endlessly. The children of welfare recipients are social outcasts in an increasingly distinct category of their own.

An elderly woman pensioner, a single woman, explained that she was only getting a small pension because she had not earned much in her working life.

"If my pension is cut further I will slip further and further down the social scale. I will end up on social security and that would be the end, because society then looks on you as an outcast."

In 1970 social security claimants cost the country DM3.3bn. By 1977 they cost DM10.4bn. In 1980 the total was DM13bn, and with rising unemployment it is sure to continue increasing.

Josef Schmidt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 October 1982)

Not enough women: German farmers can't find wives

Farmers in Bavaria face a much more serious problem than poor harvests. They are suffering from a shortage of women.

One in five of the state's 275,000 farmers is a single man. This is partly because there is a surplus of men in the countryside.

In rural areas there are now only 70 women per 100 men, a trend that set in at the turn of the century. It is another matter in the cities.

The Bavarian Farmers' Union is alarmed by the findings of a questionnaire. Unmarried farmers said they knew at least 15 others in the same position.

So the union decided the time had come to resort to action. A platform debate held to a full house at Augsburg congress hall started the ball rolling.

"At 25," a spokeswoman for the Young Farmers' Association said, "they still play cards at their local pub every evening." That was why many only realised when it was too late that they were likely to remain single.

She said young farmers would be well advised not to concentrate too exclusively on the farm and on work. They should take an interest in, say, the arts too.

Professor Ulrich Planck of Stuttgart University did not agree. "There are not enough potential farmer's wives to go round," he said.

He well understood why farmers still enjoyed an evening out at the pub. He had polled country villages in Baden-Würtemberg from 1955 to 1980 and made a relevant discovery.

It was that the number of farmer's daughters who wanted to become farmer's wives had declined over this period from 80 per cent to four per cent.

Hard manual labour and the lack of spare time were less the reason for this reluctance, if the response from the floor in Augsburg was any guide.

One farmer, the father of two adult daughters, said the problem was that farmer's wives had too little room for themselves after marriage.

They were often treated like slaves by their mother-in-law and expected to do everything they were told.

A marriage bureau was represented at the meeting, but farmers did not seem to expect to find wives there and then. No-one rose to the bait of "any number of Yugoslav women keen to find a husband."

That was probably due to the findings of the questionnaire where marriage bureaux were concerned.

Farmers reported having paid between DM2,000 and DM15,000 and said the services provided made it little less than daylight robbery.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 23 October 19682)